

ain-
iren
un-
our
duc-
and

or-
the
lar
not
of
ring
ich
nd
an
ng,
nst
w-
oy
m-
ed
ti-
to
t.
y
y
i-
a
e

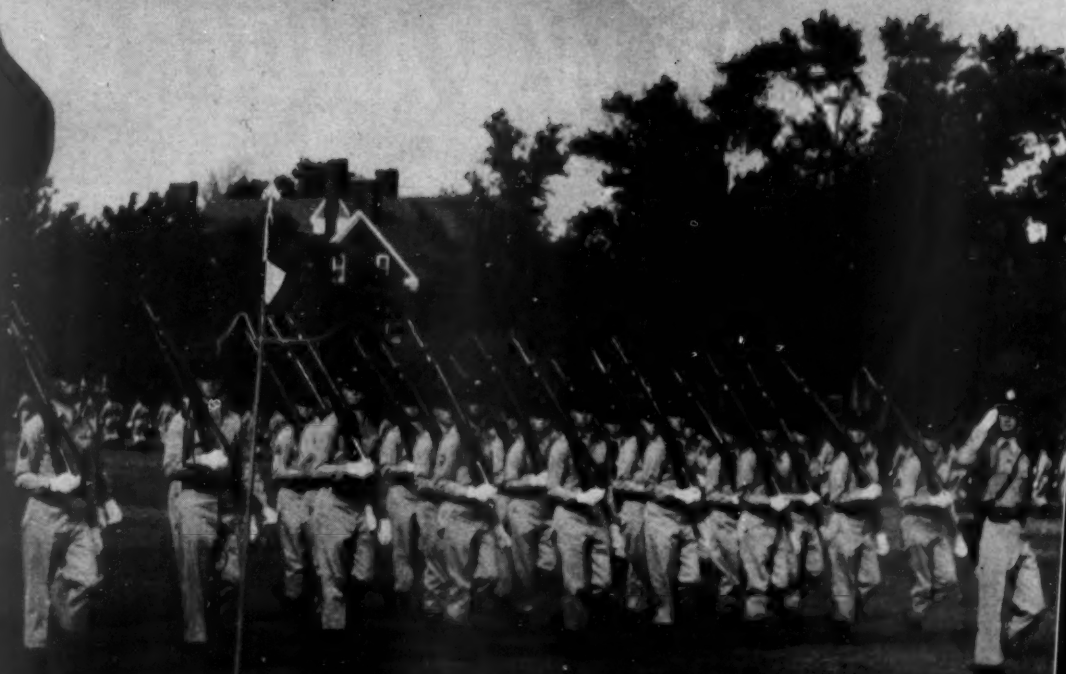
The School Crisis Is Still With Us —by A. J. Biemiller

AFL - CIO



American **FEDERATIONIST**

1957
PERIODICAL
READING ROOM



THE ARMY HONORS THE AFL-CIO

rd Infantry Parading Past AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler During Special Review. Story on Page 8.

**Labor's Stake in
An Emerging New Africa**

by A. Philip Randolph

**New Approaches in
Labor Education**

by John E. Cosgrove

**Interest Rates,
Bankers' Style**

by Stanley H. Rittenberg

Know what's going on!

Listen Regularly to

EDWARD P. MORGAN

and

JOHN W. VANDERCOOK

A basic requirement of good citizenship is to be interested in and well-informed on public affairs. Edward P. Morgan and John W. Vandercook report the news—and they help you to understand what it means. Their sparkling broadcasts are heard nightly on the ABC radio network. If you want to keep posted, you can't do better than to form the habit of tuning in Morgan and Vandercook. Listen to them—and urge your friends and neighbors to listen, too.

**Two Great News Commentators
Coast to Coast on ABC Radio**



American

FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

OCTOBER, 1957

GEORGE MEANY, *Editor*

Vol. 64, No. 10

In This Issue

CONGRESSIONAL BOX-SCORE: AN EDITORIAL.....	<i>George Meany</i>	2
ORGANIZE!.....	<i>John W. Livingston</i>	3
THE ATTACK ON UNION WAGES.....	<i>Gordon M. Freeman</i>	5
THE SCHOOL CRISIS IS STILL VERY MUCH WITH US.....	<i>Andrew J. Blomiller</i>	6
VETO OF PAY BILLS HIT.....		7
THE ARMY HONORS LABOR.....		8
INTEREST RATES, BANKERS' STYLE.....	<i>Stanley H. Ruttenberg</i>	9
THE FIRST HURRAH.....	<i>Alexander Barkan</i>	10
NEW APPROACHES IN LABOR EDUCATION.....	<i>John E. Cosgrove</i>	12
DUKE REMOVES SWANSON.....		14
THE CIVIL RIGHTS LAW.....	<i>Boris Shishkin</i>	15
LABOR AND TOMORROW'S CITIZENS.....	<i>Lee W. Minton</i>	16
CALIFORNIA SURGES AHEAD.....	<i>Daniel V. Flanagan</i>	17
SWEATSHOPS UNDER BLUE SKIES.....	<i>Sol Markoff</i>	18
LABOR'S STAKE IN AN EMERGING NEW AFRICA.....	<i>A. Philip Randolph</i>	20
A VICTORY FOR THE CONSUMER.....	<i>Earl W. Jimerson and Patrick E. Gorman</i>	22
GUILTY AS CHARGED.....		23
LABOR NEWS BRIEFS.....		24
FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS.....		27
AFL-CIO FINANCIAL REPORT.....		28
WHAT THEY SAY.....		32

Patriotism

It is the opinion of many that self-love is the grand impelling spring in the human machine. This sentiment is either utterly false or the principle, as distinguished in some actions, becomes so exceedingly refined as to merit a more engaging name.

Patriotism, whether we reflect upon the benevolence which gives it birth, the magnitude of its object, the happy effect which it produces or the height to which it exalts human character, by the glorious action of which it is the cause, must be considered as the noblest of all the social virtues.

The patriot is influenced by love for his fellow men and an ardent desire to preserve sacred and inviolate their natural rights. His philanthropic views, not confined to the small circle of his private friends, are so extensive as to embrace the liberty and happiness of a whole nation.

That he may be instrumental, under heaven, to maintain and secure these invaluable blessings to his country, he devotes his wealth, his fame, his life, his all.

To the honor of humanity, the histories of almost every age and nation are replete with examples of this elevated character. Every period of the world has afforded its heroes and its patriots—men who could soar above the narrow views and groveling principles which actuate so great a part of the human species and drown every selfish consideration in the love of their country.

But we need not advert to the annals of other ages and nations, as the history of our own country points with so much pleasure, veneration and gratitude to the illustrious Washington.

While he lived, he proved a rich blessing to his country, a bright example to the dawning patriotism of the Old World, the terror of despotism and the delight and admiration of all mankind.

Increase Cook.



Published monthly by American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations at 815 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Editor—George Meany. Director of Publications—Henry C. Fleisher. Managing Editor—Bernard Tassler. Assistant Editor—Fred Ross. Subscriptions, \$2 a year in U.S. and Canada. Other rates on application. Entered as second-class matter at Washington and accepted for mailing at special rate of postage provided in Section 1103, Act of Oct. 3, 1917. No material may be reprinted without permission. No paid advertising is ever accepted.



CONGRESSIONAL BOX-SCORE

AN EDITORIAL BY GEORGE MEANY

THE LEGISLATIVE RECORD of the Eighty-fifth Congress at its halfway mark merits considerable praise as well as severe criticism. For one achievement alone the first session of this Congress has earned a place in history—it adopted the first civil rights bill in eighty-two years.

This new law does not go as far as the AFL-CIO advocated, but it does constitute a great milestone of progress in the fight to assure enjoyment of constitutional rights by all citizens, regardless of race or color. Insofar as this law will protect the right of Negroes to vote, it may by its own operation accomplish other important civil rights reforms.

It is not too surprising that this Congress failed to make similarly significant advances in other fields. The time necessarily consumed by the civil rights issue foredoomed the chances of other legislation.

Considering how many previous Congresses had been stalled on dead center by filibusters over civil rights legislation, the Eighty-fifth Congress deserves, at the very least, a vote of thanks from the American people for breaking the blockade.

Now that civil rights legislation is out of the way, perhaps the Eighty-fifth Congress will be able at its second session, beginning in January, to clean up a great deal of vital unfinished business and to correct some serious shortcomings.

First and foremost on this list must be placed a comprehensive federal aid-to-education program. Our country desperately needs construction of new schools. We need improved standards for teachers. We need to increase facilities for higher education and to encourage talented young men and women to develop, through schooling and training, the scientific knowledge and skills which will enable them best to serve their country.

Congress did pass a housing bill, but an inadequate one. We urgently need an effective housing program which would get rid of city and farm slums and make it possible for families in the low and middle income groups to rent or

buy decent homes at prices within their means.

The new immigration, mutual security and atomic energy laws were required, but all fell short of the nation's needs. Opportunity must be found to correct and strengthen these next year.

It is difficult to find an excuse for the failure of Congress thus far to act favorably on proposed legislation to extend the coverage of the minimum wage law to millions of workers still deprived of its protection, the failure to provide relief measures for economically depressed areas, the failure to enact tax relief for low and middle income groups, and the failure to protect the health and welfare funds of workers by passing the full disclosure bill urged by the AFL-CIO. Congress should act promptly on these measures in January.

Also the Eighty-fifth Congress at its second session must give serious consideration to constructive changes in the Taft-Hartley Act and to further improvements in the social security laws.

On the plus side of the ledger must be entered the courageous action of Congress in voting badly needed pay increases for postal and classified government employees despite threats from the White House of a certain Presidential veto. The President carried out this threat soon after adjournment. It is incumbent upon Congress to reenact the pay measures early enough in the next session to permit action to override a second Presidential veto.

Clearly, the record of the first session was a mixed one. Certainly Congress did not accomplish all that the public had a right to expect. At the same time, it is not fair for the President to blame Congress for failing to pass legislation which he recommended only in token fashion.

The political tug of war that occurs when the White House and Congress are controlled by opposing political parties develops some strange situations. But it would be well for the President and Congressional leaders to realize that the American people are more interested in results than in who gets the blame for failure.

ORGANIZE!

We have moved forward since the merger convention.

Despite varied difficulties, union membership is mounting impressively.

*But the huge task of organizing all the unorganized workers
can be accomplished only by long-term efforts.*

By JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

Director, AFL-CIO Department of Organization

ON December 8, 1955, delegates to the AFL-CIO merger convention unanimously resolved:

"The AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions hereby dedicate themselves, and will provide their fullest and most vigorous support, to an expanded organizing program equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization. We shall do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized."

That was the mandate of the convention. Since that day the AFL-CIO Department of Organization has directed its efforts to carrying out that mandate.

As we approach the second convention of the AFL-CIO, it is appropriate to analyze the present state of organization among American workers in terms of the hopes and determinations expressed by the merger convention.

How have we fared, organizing-wise, since then? How close have we come to realizing those hopes? How closely have we approximated those determinations?

These are questions every interested observer of the labor scene and every participant in the labor movement is asking today.

As is the case with any subject of consequence, answers to the questions cannot be given in a five-word sentence. It is not a simple matter to compute our degree of success in carrying out "the practical task of working out the practical problems in carrying forth an organization drive in every phase of America, in terms



JOHN W. LIVINGSTON

of every kind of union, both industrial and craft."

It is possible, of course, to point to NLRB statistics and from them conclude that labor unions continue to enjoy organizing success. In the second quarter of this year, as in the first quarter, unions won 62 per cent of the elections in which they engaged. This constitutes the same percentage victory record earned in 1956, the first full year after merger. AFL-CIO unions, NLRB reports suggest, have intensified organizing activity since the merger. For example, in the second quarter of this year AFL-CIO unions participated in more collective bargaining elections than they or their predecessor unions had in any quarter in the last four years. NLRB figures also disclose that more than 400,000 new members have been

added to union membership through collective bargaining elections alone since the merger.

These figures, of course, do not reveal the entire story of union growth. Many thousands of new members come into the ranks of labor through internal expansion, through agreement, through state elections. One of the fastest growing AFL-CIO affiliates pursues a jurisdiction that precludes recourse to NLRB procedures. Its unprecedented growth this year is not reflected, naturally, in NLRB statistics.

We cannot rely upon NLRB reports, therefore, to provide complete answers to questions concerning organizing progress, although the data those reports contain must be included in any analysis.

The observations contained in the resolution on organizing the unorganized adopted by the AFL-CIO merger convention include some of the most profound I have seen. One paragraph in particular should be recalled:

"We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unfailing determination, and full use of our resources."

The statement, coupled with the resolution's declaration that "the spirit of labor unity equips us to do a more

effective job," presents a concise and forceful description of the major elements in the total organizing situation, so far as AFL-CIO is concerned.

First, there is recognition of the fact that the task is a formidable one, one not amenable to quick or easy accomplishment.

Then there is the expression of a very essential concept in organizing philosophy—"there is no magic formula." There is no single approach to organizing. Each organizing situation, this observation reminds us, is a unique one requiring specific application of particular techniques that are singularly responsive to the crucial elements of the given organizing problem.

Realization of that fact leads to the conclusion that good intentions and enthusiastic determination are in themselves not sufficient either in a single organizing campaign or in the general organizing task.

Analysis of the problems, careful planning, sustained effort, complete utilization of resources—all these are necessary if the obstacles to organizing the yet unorganized millions are to be surmounted.

Even more important, the spirit of unity, as the resolution warns, is the one indispensable ingredient for success.

The AFL-CIO Department of Organization has based its program on the policy and procedures outlined in the organizing resolution.

Within a month of the close of the merger convention, the entire organizing staff was engaged in preparing the most comprehensive organizing survey ever attempted on a national

scale. In this endeavor we had the cooperation of the AFL-CIO Department of Research and of many AFL-CIO international union affiliates.

This survey, presented to united labor's first Executive Council meeting in 1956, set forth the national organizing potential, in numerous industries, by craft, region by region, state by state. In addition, the survey analyzed the total organizing factors involved in the industries and services selected for intensive study, pointing up the major problems and suggesting approaches to meeting those problems.

So far as circumstances have permitted, the findings of this organizing survey have served as the basis for direction of our organizing efforts.

In at least one instance, the findings suggested the advisability of a more detailed survey of a local area—the greater Miami complex. That detailed survey, made by members of the field staff, resulted in the launching of an organizing campaign in the Miami area which has met with success. Within a few months of the campaign's beginning, over 10,000 new members had been added to organized labor's ranks in metropolitan Miami.

The general organizing survey clearly indicated a need for increased activity in the textile field in the South. A special staff of experienced organizers was assigned to textile campaigns.

To date, accomplishments there have not been spectacular; indeed, several reverses have been suffered. This was anticipated. Any competent observer knows that the unorganized



One part of the organizing job is the distribution of literature.

segment of the textile industry in the South will be organized only after hard, persistent effort.

In that area, to the well-developed skills of management in exploiting the fears and local social customs of workers who do not have the benefit of trade union tradition must be added the factor of the encouragement anti-labor employers receive from the Taft-Hartley Act and its present administration.

It is in the South that the union-crippling consequences of Taft-Hartley are seen in clearer focus, and it is in the South that the battle to bring the light of organization into the murky darkness of industrial despotism will be fought and won.

TAKING a cue from the organizing resolution's call for careful and imaginative planning, the Department of Organization established a new field structure, dividing the nation into four areas for which the four top assistants to the director of organization were given coordinating and liaison responsibility. Policy and procedural conferences were held with the directors and assistant directors of the twenty-three AFL-CIO regions. Regional staff meetings were held as part of a successful staff integration program.

To better equip ourselves for organizing, the Department developed several new aids for organizers in the form of sample organizing leaflets, open letters and informational background data. A departmental informational bulletin was introduced. A series of organizing conferences for the entire staff was held.

Step by step we have moved to im-

PRESIDENT MEANY SAYS:

As we look ahead, we see there is still plenty to do. There are still millions who are without the benefit of trade union organization. Our job, as it has been since the early days, is to go out and organize these people.

Substandard conditions that prevail for unorganized workers have always been a threat to the conditions achieved by unionized workers. That was true fifty and sixty years ago—when Samuel Gompers concluded every talk he made with the admonition to organize, organize, organize—and it is true today.

plement the resolves and intent of the organizing resolution adopted by the merger convention. We have taken all possible measures to effect the realistic appraisal of the obstacles that resolution declared was required. We have pursued a multiplicity of means to provide ourselves with the tools necessary for the careful and imaginative planning the resolution stated was essential.

We have undertaken specific organizing assignments of a crucial nature without expectation of immediate or short-term success but rather in keeping with the organizing resolution's recognition that some phases of our organizing mission can be accomplished only through long-term, unceasing effort.

WE HAVE achieved a mobility of operation that has enabled us to move quickly into critical organizing situations. At the same time, through perfection of regional organizing procedures, we have accumulated a vast store of knowledge about local conditions and have developed close local working relationships.

While the AFL-CIO Department of Organization has been thus engaged in carrying out the organizing resolution's mandate, in accordance with the concepts the resolution contained, affiliated national and international unions have also responded to the organizing call.

There is scarcely a union in the AFL-CIO family that has not stepped up its organizing activities. Some have altered their structure in order to give new emphasis to organizing. Many have expanded their organizing staffs. One indication of the renewed organizing zeal on the part of AFL-CIO affiliates is afforded by the fact that a number of AFL-CIO organizers have been tapped by affiliated unions for staff organizing positions.

A number of AFL-CIO affiliates have undertaken joint organizing projects. Some have waived prior claims in favor of sister affiliates. A number of them have, from time to time, come together to consider common organizing problems.

All of this testifies to the fact that to a large degree AFL-CIO unions wish to justify the organizing resolution's boast, and its implied directive, that "the spirit of labor unity equips us to do a more effective job."

One good example of the spirit of fraternal cooperation produced or made possible by the merger is the current organizing campaign on the part of a local of an AFL-CIO affiliate in a large city along the Eastern seaboard. Every AFL-CIO affiliate with representation in that city has pledged active assistance in the drive. With past differences submerged, the entire labor movement in that large city is embarked upon a dramatic demonstration of merger's value.

In candor, however, one must admit that not everywhere nor in every organizing circumstance has there been such striking evidence of organizational unity of purpose.

The fact that jurisdiction is a troublesome obstacle to trade union growth—an obstacle to organizing—helped bring about the merger. For it had become painfully evident that without a united movement that obstacle could never be removed.

Merger constituted the one indispensable component of the solution to the jurisdictional problem. Merger

had to be accomplished to create the conditions in the absence of which no solution could be found.

It is possible now to overcome jurisdictional impediments, and progress has been made, as is indicated by the sharp drop in the number of NLRB multi-union elections. That much more progress must yet be made we all admit.

Throughout our movement, men of good will and their organizations are working toward that end. It is inconceivable that they should not succeed. Every day brings us closer to the attainment of the goal. Every day brings us closer to the time when every internal organizing impediment will have been shaken loose.

Then we shall see with what organizing effectiveness the millions of men and women who make up the AFL-CIO respond to the merger convention decree:

"We must bring the benefits and protection of unionism to millions of unorganized workers who need, deserve and must have them."

The Attack on Union Wages

By GORDON M. FREEMAN
President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

BUILDING trades unions have been under constant fire in recent years because of the wages labeled everything from plain "high" to "exorbitant" by so-called innocent bystanders. Wages have taken the brunt of all kinds of complaints, from the high costs of building anything to the plight of the farmer.

Those talking about "exorbitant" wages in the construction trades always fail to point out a number of things, among them the "exorbitant" profits being made by some of the construction firms. Studies conducted recently show that building trades wages comprise only a small percentage of the total cost of erecting a home or other building.

They also fail to mention the fact that construction work is seasonal, and the pay checks only come when the worker is employed. Are not construction workers' families expected to eat twelve months of the year? If so, wages made on construction jobs have to stretch out to

meet the bills for that whole twelve-month period.

Another point the glib attackers fail to mention is the production angle. Production per man-hour is increasing steadily in the construction field. One good example of this was brought out in a survey made by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. Between 1952 and 1954 the number of workers employed in construction decreased by four per cent, while total construction increased ten per cent.

Trained union workmen like our electrical workers and fellow unionists in other trades have acquired their skills through years of training and experience. Union work, in the main, is done expertly, safely and with dispatch. Know-how on a job often saves a contractor hundreds of thousands of dollars.

These are just a few of the items which those who seemingly speak so authoritatively about "the high cost of union labor" should consider.



Jammed classrooms and double shifts again confront millions of children. The school construction bill died in Congress when Ike failed to back it.

THE SCHOOL CRISIS IS STILL VERY MUCH WITH US

By **ANDREW J. BIEMILLER**

Director, AFL-CIO Department of Legislation



ANDREW J. BIEMILLER

THIRTY-THREE million children have returned to public schools throughout the nation. Some are lucky. Their classrooms are modern, their teachers well trained, their classes of a size permitting adequate instruction for all.

But millions of our children are not so lucky. Their classrooms are in firetraps or in buildings just not fit for human occupancy. Their teachers are poorly trained, holding their jobs through the use of emergency teaching certificates. Many of these children can stay in school only three or four hours a day because the shortage of space makes double shifts a necessity.

How did this deplorable situation arise? Why must these children be

educationally handicapped at a time when a good education is daily more important, not only to the future of individuals but to the nation as well?

The answer lies in our burgeoning school-age population, a lag in school construction during the depression and war years, the financial inability of many states and school districts to meet their expansion needs, and the failure of the federal government to fulfill its obligations for the general welfare.

The first of these factors is the basis of the problem. In the last five years public school attendance mushroomed by 5,500,000. This represented an increase of more than 20 per cent and required an expansion of classroom facilities to equal it. But

more than this, public school enrollment is expected to increase by another 6,000,000 in the next five years.

The states and local school districts in many instances are simply unable to cope with the problem. For too long they had failed to follow through on adequate replacement and expansion programs. During the depression years they suffered from loss of revenues, and during the war years the general emphasis on war production shunted aside domestic needs.

It must be said, however, that when the big crop of war babies began to hit the public schools in earnest, state and local school districts made heroic efforts to keep up with the needs. The debt of public school districts, which was about \$1.3 billion in 1946, reached a total of more than \$8 billion by 1956, an increase of better than 600 per cent.

School authorities are now facing three major problems in meeting their expansion needs. First, many of them have borrowed up to their legal maximum. They just can't borrow any more for school construction under existing statutes.

Second, many school districts can't borrow any more because their taxpayers are just too poor to acquire the confidence of investors. Finally, the Administration's hard money policy has made the cost of borrowing prohibitive for many school districts. Interest rates of 4 and 4½ per cent and even higher are becoming all too common, whereas a few years ago the average bond issue was floated at 2 or 2½ per cent.

These problems can be solved—and they must be solved. But they will not be solved until the President and Congress realize that federal aid to school construction is an absolute necessity to the well-being of the nation.

Support for such a program is strong in Congress. For two successive years, almost—but not quite—a majority of the members of the House of Representatives voted for a program of federal aid.

Last year a switch of sixteen votes would have turned defeat into victory. This year a switch of only three votes, of 411 cast, could have changed the result.

This year as last year the majority of the votes against school construction were cast by Republicans, members of the President's own party.

It is clear that, had the President supported the program specifically and with vigor, the bill would have passed the House. It may be that a bill will not pass until he does give such support.

The President's public statements this year on school construction were frequent. They gave general and, everyone thought, sincere support to federal school construction legislation. But never once, in a press conference or during a speech, did he give endorsement to the bill which was before the House.

In the final moments of debate, when the chances of passage of his own bill were good, he failed to come through with the needed encouragement which could have spelled victory.

It is interesting to note that the President, in his statements which were critical of the record of Congress after it had adjourned, failed to mention the defeat of school construction legislation.

At this time of the year, when the nation's schools have just reopened, it is appropriate that we remember the children whose future is endangered by substandard education. Next year we should be sure that every member of the House and Senate knows that we need and want a federal program.

Here is a project that every local union, every state and city central body and every international union should push in the months ahead with all the force at their command.

Veto of Pay Bills Hit

LEADERS of AFL-CIO postal and civil service unions last month united in condemning President Eisenhower's veto of federal pay raise bills. The President, in killing the measures, had criticized the boosts voted by Congress as "inflationary."

William C. Doherty, president of the National Association of Letter Carriers and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, denounced the veto as "a crushing blow of devastating proportions." He said postal workers have every reason to be "bitterly disappointed."

Predicting that an even stronger postal pay bill will be passed by Congress soon after its 1958 session gets under way, Mr. Doherty, who also is chairman of the AFL-CIO Government Employees Council, said that such a measure "must carry retroactive language which will at least partially make up for this year's startling setback."

"We have lost the skirmish, but we have not lost the war," he declared. "From the depths of adversity we will emerge victorious."

J. Cline House, the president of the National Federation of Post Office Clerks, asserted sadly:

"This kind of thing is not good for the postal service."

He said that Mr. Eisenhower's veto "has caused more damage to morale and service in the Post Office Depart-

ment than anything that has happened in the past fifty years."

More than half of the members of the Post Office Clerks have already been forced to take supplementary outside jobs in the effort to keep "anywhere near even" with the rising cost of living, Mr. House pointed out. The meager pay they are now receiving from Uncle Sam is insufficient to make ends meet, he said.

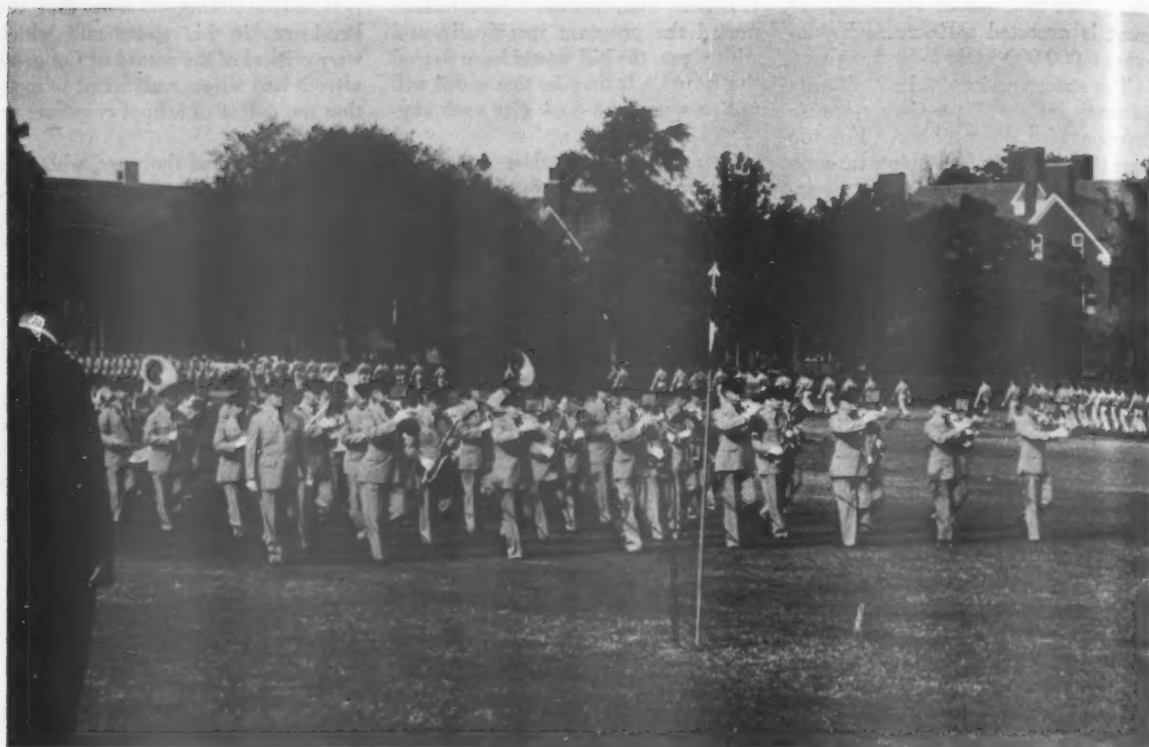
The veto was called "misguided and unwarranted" by James A. Campbell, president of the American Federation of Government Employees. He disputed each of Mr. Eisenhower's reasons for refusing to sign the legislation approved by Congress.

The AFGE's chieftain urged the President to negotiate directly at least once with representatives of civil service employees on the pay raise issue.

"Is this too much to ask from the top boss of 2,000,000 employees?" Mr. Campbell asked. "I don't think so."

Paul A. Nagle, president of the National Postal Transport Association, charged that the veto "shattered the spirit" of the nation's postal workers.

Thomas G. Walters, operations director of the Government Employees Council, after lashing the veto as "a crushing blow," quoted members of Congress as predicting that the President's action would "expedite" passage of salary bills at the next session.



Renowned U.S. Army Band took part in the colorful ceremony at Fort Myer.

The Army Honors Labor

AFL-CIO Is Commended for Contributions to the Nation

Program feature was citation hailing labor for patriotic services.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY honored the AFL-CIO for its contributions to the nation's welfare with a special review September 8 at Fort Myer, Virginia, across the Potomac River from Washington. Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler took the review for the AFL-CIO.

Participating in the Army's tribute to the labor movement were the crack Third Infantry Regiment and the Army Band.

On the reviewing stand with Mr. Schnitzler were Assistant Secretary of the Army Frank H. Higgins, Major General John G. Van Houten, commanding general of the Military District of Washington, and a number of other notables.

A thousand spectators listened attentively as the citation lauding the patriotism of labor and its many services was read by the regimental adjutant.

"In national emergencies labor has backed up the troops in combat by producing needed war materials, by giving blood and by purchasing war bonds," the citation said. "The fight of labor against communism has become a matter of record.

"The AFL-CIO has established its place in the community and its readiness to serve the interests of American labor. The organization, composed of more than 15,000,000 men and women, supports the fundamental freedoms which are the basis of our daily life.

"The AFL-CIO combats those forces which seek to undermine the democratic institutions of the nation. It is dedicated to safeguarding labor from all forms of totalitarian effort. It moves onward in promoting the cause of peace and freedom in the world."



SUPP
Lab
Sup
partne
bers of
cil who
recomm
pose a
control
whole
The
ening.
interest
newspa
labor,
But
the bar
raised
men w
price p
have ac
ing fra
their d
ing, a
power
prosper
does no
but the
The
ample,
chairm
poratio
of the
mittee
sociatio
testified
that his
est rate
lowed
The
names
mittee

Interest Rates, Bankers' Style

By **STANLEY H. RUTTENBERG**, *Director, AFL-CIO Department of Research*

SUPPOSE the U.S. Department of Labor set American wage rates. Suppose high officials of the Department of Labor were former members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council who continued to follow Council recommendations on wage rates. Suppose a group of twenty labor leaders controlled the effect of wages on the whole nation.

The public uproar would be deafening. The furore over conflict of interest would shake the nation, as newspapers decried government of labor, by labor and for labor.

But government of the bankers, by the bankers and for the bankers has raised little public excitement. The men who control interest rates—the price paid for the use of money—have admitted publicly that the banking fraternity is a prime force in their decisions. Even more astounding, a tiny group of men has the power to decide whether we will have prosperity or depression. The public does not take part in their decisions, but the public pays for their mistakes.

The public does not know, for example, Mr. Emil J. Pattberg, Jr., chairman of the First Boston Corporation of New York and chairman of the Governmental Securities Committee of the Investment Bankers Association. Yet last year Mr. Pattberg testified at a Congressional hearing that his committee's advice on interest rates and terms is "usually" followed by the Treasury Department.

The public does not know the names of the members of that committee or the members of a similar

committee of the American Bankers Association—top advisers to the Treasury Department. Nor do they hear the names of the presidents of the Federal Reserve Banks around the country whose decisions help to set the pattern of interest rates for the whole nation.

In the words of Senator Kerr of Oklahoma, who dramatized some of these facts before the Senate Finance Committee a few weeks ago, "there probably is not one person in a million who knows either who these men are or the power they have."

But it is their power and the decisions they have made which have led to higher interest rates. Higher interest means higher costs for the American people and for their government. Every time a tiny fraction is added to the interest rate, the cost mushrooms through the business market until it reaches the consumer.

When a businessman borrows money to manufacture a product, the higher cost of borrowing money is reflected in the price of his product. When he sells to a retailer, who borrows money to buy wares for resale, the retailer includes the higher cost of his borrowed money in the selling price to his customers.

By the time the general public goes to the store to buy, the higher interest paid at every level has upped the prices of the items in the store—food, clothing, appliances, the items needed for everyday living. The cost of living continues to rise.

Higher interest rates hit the home buyer and the car buyer even more

directly. Because of rising rates, the interest cost of buying a \$12,000 house even on a twenty-five-year FHA mortgage is now \$2000 more than it was four years ago. A time payment on a car includes the interest rate rise—a subtle change perhaps, but the total is a significant sum.

At the same time, the car and home buyer are paying for the pyramiding of the interest costs of the builders, manufacturers and the sellers at every level—higher costs because of higher rates.

The taxpayer's costs also rise, because federal, state and local governments must pay more for the things they buy. Federal, state and local governments' costs also mount as they not only have to pay for pyramiding prices (*Continued on Page 25*)



Hardship for small business and farmers didn't make ex-Treasury Secretary Humphrey feel unhappy.



ALEXANDER BARKAN

ONE of last year's best-selling novels tells in vivid terms the story of an old-time political boss. It describes his methods, his background, his strengths and weaknesses and, in the end, his defeat.

Today this type of political boss is merely a museum piece, an amusing, interesting relic of a period in American politics when political power really rested in a handful of such people. But in the very recent past it was not possible to view him so tolerantly. In many instances he was the

man on the local level around whom the fight against the trade union movement centered. He was the man through whom the factory owner operated. He was the man who told the mayor to send the police out to bust up picket lines.

He was the man who cost the taxpayers, the vast majority of whom are working people, millions of wasted dollars for inferior public service.

He was the "Mr. Big" of city and state politics and, often, of national politics.

The reason for his disappearance from our political scene should be of interest to those who are today concerned with the basic morals of the American labor movement.

The fact is that the old boss was strong simply because he held all the cards. If you wanted a job, you went to your ward leader. If you needed help over a period of unemployment, your ward leader provided it. Social security was unheard of. The ward leader took care of you if you were one of the faithful.

Talk to any old-timer in politics and you will find this was how it worked. In the large cities the ward leader was a sort of shop steward for the unorganized worker. In return, the unorganized worker gave up his political freedom by placing his vote in bondage to the ward leader.

It is because of the growth of the trade union movement, both economically and politically, that the evil fig-

The old-time political boss no longer casts his shadow across the wage-earner's freedom, but in the very recent past enormous power was held and used by bosses like Jersey City's Frank Hague (left) and Ed Crump of Memphis.



ure o
longer
freed
The
wages
at lea
give
power
in da
yet, k
er pr
The
today
as se
Thank
mover
more
on ele
ward
In
sive s
unemp
pensat
public
hands
boss t
ple's
them
don't
bucket
unemp
But
pened
suffer
cal act
Boss
only v
A cor
when
It has



Labor's efforts have increased registration and produced larger turnouts at the polls. Our political activity has hit the bosses, because they seek a small, controlled vote.

ure of the old-time political boss no longer casts his shadow across the freedom of the American worker.

The fact that there are jobs at good wages today is due, in large measure at least, to the drive that trade unions give to our economy. Purchasing power does not limp so far behind as in days past, though it does not, as yet, keep pace—and purchasing power provides jobs.

The right to one of those jobs is today based on sound principles such as seniority, ability and experience. Thanks to the American trade union movement, it does not depend any more on the way you cast your ballot on election day and your ties to the ward leader.

In addition, support for progressive social legislation, for adequate unemployment and workmen's compensation laws, social security and public assistance has taken from the hands of the ward leader and political boss this measure of control over people's lives and thereby restored to them their political freedom. You don't have to trade your vote for a bucket of coal when you're entitled to unemployment compensation.

But that is not all that has happened to the political boss. He has suffered another blow from our political activity.

Bossism in politics is successful only when there is a controlled vote. A controlled vote is possible only when a small number of people vote. It has been axiomatic among party

machine leaders to run for the storm cellars when unexplained large numbers of voters come out to the polls. And labor activity aims at large numbers of voters.

Bossism in politics has two other requirements for survival. One of them is that the electorate should not be too familiar with the activities and records of the men elected to public office. The "right" name, a hearty manner and strict obedience to orders were all that was required of a candidate. The voters would never know how he voted or what he did while he was in office. The skeletons were all neatly tucked away in the closet for use by the party boss only.

BUT with outsiders poking around in the closet, publicizing votes, recalling campaign promises happily forgotten, probing behind the hearty manner and brushing aside the "right" name myth, life for the boss is much more difficult. What good is the "right" name if the bum doesn't know the difference between Taft-Hartley and the Wagner Act?

"Some of my friends are for it and some of my friends are against it and I stand with my friends," is no longer the effective answer to embarrassing questions it once was.

The other requirement is the dependence of the candidate or public office holder upon the political boss for financial contributions at election time. But how, wails the boss, can he keep them in line if trade unionists

are willing to dig into their pockets to provide the financial sinews of a campaign?

It even goes further than that. How can a hard-working ward leader, just trying to do his job, deliver the kind of vote from his ward his boss demands when all kinds of strangers are standing around to make sure the count is honest?

The pencil stub in the palm of the hand, the arm that reaches over the voting machine, the lost ballot boxes, the thousand and one tricks ward leaders have labored over the years to perfect are on their way out—scrapped all because of poll watchers who can't be bought. It's enough to drive a man to work!

Boss Crump in Memphis, Boss Hague in Jersey City, the Philadelphia organization, the Kelly-Nash machine, Mayor James Michael Curley have heard their last hurrahs. They have been pushed into history with all their tawdry morals by the forces of decency, morality and idealism embodied in the American trade union movement and its program of political education.

Political freedom and economic freedom are Siamese twins. Through our trade unions we have won economic freedom, and we are winning our battle for political freedom from the corrupt political machines which for so long disfigured the face of the nation.

This is the morality of our labor movement. There can be none higher.

New Approaches in LABOR EDUCATION

By JOHN E. COSGROVE

*Assistant Director,
AFL-CIO Department of Education*

IF THERE is one particular characteristic of labor education, it is that it is changing. The subjects of national and international union education programs are changing as automation and the industrial application of atomic power change job functions and bargaining problems. The subjects of state and local central body education programs undergo transition as civil rights, community service problems and newly devised restrictions on unions come to the fore.

Not only are subjects new, but they require new methods of presentation to compete with the other demands on the leaders' and members' time and attention. These changing problems and the changing solutions are reflected in the educational work of the local unions.

One of the tasks of the AFL-CIO Department of Education is to encourage those affiliates not now providing educational service to members to undertake such programs. This presents particular problems where the membership is sparse and scattered or where relatively little organizing has been completed; in such places the internationals are hard pressed to serve their locals.

Also the provision, for example, of a week-long resident school is still beyond the capability of some state central bodies. A solution for this problem has been found in the regional labor schools.

Based on experience of the former AFL and the former CIO, two interstate labor schools are now in full operation. They are based on pooling both the resources and the needs of state central bodies for education of leaders and members.

The Southern Labor School is an organization of the state centrals of the twelve Southern states. This summer it held a week-long Advanced Institute for state officers, state education directors and education committee chairmen, international representatives and AFL-CIO staff organizers.

With such a high level of experience, it was possible to cover many important questions in the four hours of classes and two hours of workshops each day. On four evenings special sessions were held. Special emphasis was given to civil rights and the economic problems of the South.

A second week was devoted to a Basic Institute for local union representatives from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Mississippi. This school was concerned more with the on-going problems of locals, including the economics of bargaining and the improvement of meeting procedures. The

Advanced Institute and the Basic Institute were both held at Daytona Beach, Florida, this year.

The Southern Labor School is headed by Stanton Smith, president of the Tennessee Labor Council, and E. J. Bourg, secretary of the Louisiana Labor Council.

The newer Rocky Mountain Labor School held its first one-week program this summer at Brighton, Utah. This school is an organization of the state central bodies of the eight inter-mountain states. Its first project drew the participation of leaders from every state and many city centrals of the area. Emphasis was given to the public power needs and the agricultural problems of the region, as well as the building of strong city centrals to assist the state bodies in legislation and political education.

The president of the Rocky Mountain Labor School is Keene S. Brown, secretary of the Arizona AFL-CIO, and the secretary-treasurer is R. C.



Unions of the AFL-CIO are encouraged to provide educational service. Shown here is the active educational committee of a Midwestern local.

"Andy" Anderson, vice-president of the Colorado Labor Council.

The two interstate schools have much in common. First, as noted, they combine their needs and their resources. Each state central invests \$100 initially for the school's treasury. Other costs are met from tuition. By pooling their needs they can call on instructors, discussion leaders and resource persons which no one state central could obtain alone.

Servicing eight or ten states' leaders is obviously preferable, from the viewpoint of the national AFL-CIO, to attempting to provide similar service to each state individually.

Both interstate schools operate under a constitution which requires them to conform to AFL-CIO policies. Needless to say, all projects are open to all delegates without regard to race, color or religion. The schools are governed by a board of control composed of the top executive officers of each member state central body.

Both schools have attracted widespread support. Each has not only provided leadership training in regional problems but has stimulated widespread activity on the state and local level. Each school aims at the establishment of state, city and local programs wherever possible.

DURING the 1957 labor summer schools, the idea of "learning by doing" was given new emphasis, and with significant results.

Four of the basic and continuing problems of AFL-CIO local unions are:

- ▶Improving education-communication programs;

- ▶Strengthening Union Label projects;

- ▶Advancing COPE work;

- ▶Expanding community services operations.

In two 1957 labor schools special attention was given these subjects in unique workshops.

The AFL-CIO national and international unions hold many resident summer schools each year. In addition, some fifteen state central bodies hold week-long schools, not counting those sponsored primarily by univer-



AFL-CIO's Ted Brown speaks at West Coast conference of educational directors.

sities cooperating with state labor bodies. In two of these, the Iowa Labor Short Course and the Arizona Labor School, the extension of the technique of learning-by-doing was undertaken.

In years past various summer schools have formed a "local union" of the participants to lend credibility to the mock union meetings conducted in connection with their public speaking and parliamentary law or collective bargaining classes. This year's development saw an important extension of this. It centered on causing the "local" to function in its non-collective bargaining capacities.

As noted, the Iowa Labor Short Course of the State AFL-CIO Federation was the first run of this project, with Martin Pardekooper, Jr., director of the state AFL-CIO education department, in charge. The plan was carried even further, in some respects, in the Arizona Labor School, directed by Eddie Poole, chairman of the education committee of the state AFL-CIO.

Meeting at Flagstaff, on the first day of the school, the Arizona AFL-CIO members elected officers for their "Grass Cutters Local No. 1." The officers immediately appointed "committees" on education, union labels, COPE and community services. The chairmen and secretaries of these committees then convened the groups. Programs of action were drawn up and then presented to the "executive board" of the union for approval. The

first day of the school saw approval of each committee's program. The following three days were spent in implementing these programs. The last day the local had a "regular meeting," and both oral and mimeographed reports were presented.

Aside from the proper procedural steps thus followed, the work of the committees was practical and useful.

The education committee was divided into subcommittees. One edited and published a daily newsletter for all members of the local. This provided an all-important communication even with those "who did not attend regular meetings of the local." A public education subcommittee arranged for the donation of union literature to the high schools of the community. In Iowa City it presented labor speakers (instructors and labor school students) to general assemblies of the high schools.

The library subcommittee—guided by the suggestions of the Joint Committee on Library Service to Labor—visited the city public library, worked its index and borrowing system, and borrowed books on labor in Arizona and on grass cutting for a display which was arranged in the local's meeting hall.

The union label committee distributed materials on the Kohler and O'Sullivan strikes. It provided posters and supplied the newsletter subcommittee with daily slogans supporting the drive for union label on goods and services.

The COPE committee divided into

subcommittees, one educating the members on issues by presentations at the meetings and another conducting a dollar drive which reached 100 per cent participation by members of "Local 1."

Yet a third subcommittee checked the names of a random list provided by the local central body at the court house, to determine whether the people on the list were registered. Findings were turned over to the local central body—since the "local" would not be around to follow up on those not exercising their citizenship rights.

The community services committee—also—worked directly in the host city. In neither Iowa City nor Flagstaff was there a labor staff representative working for the united drive. However, the point was made that this was a desirable goal and local AFL-CIO people were urged by Local 1 representatives to serve on community agency boards. In Flagstaff the community service committee visited the Employment Security offices and determined the schedule of the circuit-riding social security representative.

The committee also visited the Vocational Rehabilitation Center.

The committee supplied members with information of the location of these agencies, together with a description of their duties.

The community service committee also contacted the mobile X-Ray unit, the Sunshine Mission Relief, American Legion post service officer, the Elks Club and the Easter Seal Fund. They determined that the Salvation Army, the Red Cross and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis did not maintain offices in the city. A community services exchange was discovered and added to the local's library listing of all available agencies in the city and state.

The significance of this work would seem to be that this committee of the "local" not only heard about but actually carried out a full committee program such as should be done in a real local union. In fact participants, and this writer, after working a week in each school, were about convinced the "local" was real.

Since these schools include experienced leaders and relatively new members, it was a refresher on effective committee action for the veterans and an introduction to its possibilities



Learning about COPE in a novel way was fun for students in Arizona.

for the younger members of unions.

The project—making workshops actually workshops—recognized that increased membership participation is a goal of every local and that committee work can help the local in itself and also help each member to

realize his responsibility for his local.

The value of new forms, or new techniques, is of course not in the changes themselves. They are valuable in that they help to aid the locals in better serving their members. This is the goal of union education.

IUOE Removes Swanson

THE International Union of Operating Engineers, through its General Executive Board, has removed Victor S. Swanson, sixth vice-president, from his international office. He was also ousted from his position as business manager of Local 3, San Francisco.

The Board ruled that Swanson should be barred from holding any local or international office for a period of five years.

Announcement of Swanson's removal by the Board was made by the union's president, William E. Maloney, upon the adjournment of the Board's quarterly session in Washington last month.

The IUOE, in a press statement which was distributed after the meeting, said:

"Swanson was found guilty by the Board of charges brought against him by International Representative Thomas Moore and two other mem-

bers. The charges involved local union real estate transactions in Stockton, California.

"After disposing of the Swanson charges, the Board ordered Local 3 to take steps necessary to recover funds and property to which it might be legally entitled.

"The action was taken by the General Executive Board as a result of an extensive investigation by the union and was not the result of any directives from the AFL-CIO or of any disclosures before a Congressional committee."



The Civil Rights Law

What It Is and What It Does

By **BORIS SHISHKIN**

Director, AFL-CIO Department of Civil Rights

AFTER a long-drawn-out struggle, at the close of its 1957 session, Congress finally voted approval of a limited civil rights bill. Signed into law by the President on September 9, the measure became the first federal enactment since Reconstruction days of a measure designed to safeguard and give effect to the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution.

While the new law falls far short of the legislative objective sought by the AFL-CIO of making enforceable the civil rights guaranteed to all Americans by the Constitution, the legislation is the first notable step in that direction in this century.

The new measure is essentially a "right to vote" law. The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution makes unlawful the denial of the right to vote to any citizen on account of race or color. The primary purpose of the new Civil Rights Act is to provide additional procedures to protect the voting rights of Negro citizens, the denial of which has been widespread in the South.

How is the new law designed to accomplish this?

First of all, it establishes a Commission on Civil Rights. The commission is to consist of six members, to be appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Three are to be Democrats and three Republicans. The President is to designate one member of the commission as chairman and one as vice-chairman.

The Commission on Civil Rights may investigate any written sworn charges that U.S. citizens "are being deprived of their right to vote and have that vote counted by reason of their color, race, religion or national origin."

In addition, the commission is to "study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution" and

to appraise the laws and policies of the federal government relating to the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws.

Grudgingly, Congress limited the life of the commission to two years and two months.

Second, the new law provides for an additional Assistant Attorney General in the Department of Justice. Presumably, he will direct the work of the Department's Civil Rights Division and assist the Attorney General in handling civil rights cases.

Third, the law provides for court action in case of denial of voting rights. It specifically provides:

"No person * * * shall intimidate, threaten or coerce any other person for the purpose of interfering with the right of such other person to vote, or to vote as he may choose, or of causing such other person to vote for, or not to vote for, any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, Presidential elector, member of the Senate or member of the House of Representatives * * * at any general, special or primary election held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any such candidate."

WHENEVER this provision has been violated or there are reasonable grounds to believe that it is about to be violated, the U.S. Attorney General may file a civil suit in a federal District Court for preventive relief. This may include an application for a permanent or temporary injunction or restraining order.

The victim of such a violation of voting rights would not be required to take any action himself. The federal government would take the necessary action for him and assume the costs of the suit.

What would happen would be this: If the court finds that a Negro or any other citizen is being prevented from voting, the court would issue an order



BORIS SHISHKIN

directing those responsible to stop their interference and to allow the citizen to vote as he chooses.

If the court order is violated and the citizen is still prevented from voting, the federal court will cite those responsible for contempt of court. There will be a trial and the accused will be permitted counsel.

In most cases, no jury trial will be called for. In all cases of civil contempt, the finding of guilt or innocence will be made by the judge himself.

In case of criminal contempt, the trial may also be conducted without a jury. If in such cases, however, the court should impose a penalty of more than forty-five days' imprisonment or assess a fine of more than \$300, the person convicted will then have the right to demand a jury trial.

The term "civil contempt" refers to proceedings whose purpose is to compel a person to obey a court order. "Criminal contempt" proceedings are those seeking to punish a violator for disobeying the court order.

When civil contempt is involved,

the court can place the offender under a prison sentence until he complies with the order. The court may fine the offender for each day of disobedience or order him to pay damages to the injured citizen. The law sets no limit on such fines or damages, leaving them to the discretion of the court.

When criminal contempt is involved in the trial, the highest penalty—even when it is a jury trial—would be a fine of not more than \$1000 and imprisonment for not more than six months.

The new law also prescribes uniform qualifications for federal jurors. They give Negroes and other minority groups protection against discrimination in serving on juries in federal proceedings. This will prevent the

use of discriminatory state regulations to bar Negroes from service on juries in the trial of civil rights cases.

The new law is entitled "Civil Rights Act of 1957." The Commission on Civil Rights established by the act is to investigate the whole civil rights field. Apart from that, the new law is limited to the protection of the right to vote. More accurately, it should be called "The Right to Vote Act."

Limited though it is, the new law represents the first major step taken by Congress in this century toward effective protection of the civil rights of our citizens. Labor will continue to press for civil rights legislation making fully operative and enforceable the rights guaranteed by the Constitution to all Americans, without re-

If you know of an actual or threatened violation of voting rights and want to know how to prevent such a violation under the new law, write for advice on how and where to file charges under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 to Department of Civil Rights, AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth St. N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

gard to race, creed, color or national origin.

Labor will not rest until the Constitutional promise of equality before the law and of equal opportunity in every field of life for all Americans is fulfilled and underwritten by the Congress of the United States.

Labor and Tomorrow's Citizens

By LEE W. MINTON

President, Glass Bottle Blowers Association

TODAY the United States is faced with a problem among its youth which appears to be as serious as that of fifty years ago, when children shortened their lives working in sweatshops for pittance wages.

Evidence of the problem is found in teen-age gang fights, in "hot rod" accidents and in a variety of wayward activities which come under the general heading of "juvenile delinquency."

At its merger convention in 1955, the AFL-CIO approved a comprehensive resolution which clearly showed labor's feelings on the problems of youth. Said the convention:

"Our nation must be ever aware of and responsive to the needs of our young people, for our future rests in their hands. They are entitled to the best the nation can give them.

"Sound child development requires a decent family and community environment. Failure to meet this need adequately has too often prevented youngsters from maturing to their full capacity and has been a major contributing factor to juvenile delinquency."

Recognizing the family as the hub of a child's life, the merger convention called for activities which would

safeguard and strengthen family life.

Since child development is rooted in family and community standards, we can best serve our youngsters by working to assure an economy in which families are financially secure, by making available to all families the opportunity to live in homes and neighborhoods which are adequate and comfortable, by developing top-flight school and recreational facilities, and by providing parents with knowledge of how best to protect the child's personal well-being.

Active trade unionists know of the work done by organized labor to promote youth programs. In countless cases local unions have donated their services to construct orphanages, clubhouses for youngsters and other structures for youth programs.

Unions award annual scholarships for advanced studies. They establish clinics to aid expectant mothers and serve ailing children. They support local hospital programs and charity drives. They seek legislation which will bring about a better atmosphere for the youth of our country.

These efforts are at the very heart of our trade union movement. We must always fight to preserve the family as the fountainhead of our democ-

racy. I have urged all the locals of our union to expand their efforts to aid the young people of their communities through active participation in local programs.

The responsibility for a well-rounded youth program does not lie entirely at the local level, of course. The federal government and the state and local governments must fulfill their essential responsibilities.

We must not lose sight of the fact that money spent for youth programs, for improved housing, for general social betterment can be more than recaptured through savings on expenditures for jails and mental institutions.

Thirty years ago James Maloney, in his capacity as the editor of the official publication of the Glass Bottle Blowers, said:

"Every fair-minded father and mother must realize that, at the present day, if their children are to meet with success in the game of life, it is essential they should have trained minds."

This statement is even more true today. The problems of living are increasingly complex.

We must ask ourselves: Are we preparing the new generation for the problems of tomorrow?

CALIFORNIA SURGES AHEAD

By DANIEL V. FLANAGAN

*AFL-CIO Regional Director
of Organization*

CALIFORNIA, second largest state in area, is now also the second largest in population. Census experts predict that by 1975 its population will exceed that of New York. California's present population is more than 14,000,000.

When it is remembered that California had only 7,000,000 as recently as 1940 and that in seventeen years it has doubled that figure, the population rise has been phenomenal.

With this great surge of people to the state, there has been a tremendous upswing in industry. There is an ever-increasing work force. Labor's organizing efforts are continuous. While the results of recent organizing drives have not been sensational, the progress of unionism has been steady and sound.

An official report by the California Department of Industrial Relations estimated that 50,000 persons joined unions during the year ended July, 1955. The figure was 71,000 the next year. I believe that the unions did at least as well in the twelve months ended last July. The official compilation for this period has not been completed.

Union membership in California is now officially estimated at 1,760,000. This figure is evidence that labor is progressing well.

At this year's session of the California Legislature, labor achieved some significant gains. Workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, unemployment disability and old-age security were all improved.

Public works programs aggregating almost \$500,000,000 were approved. Minimum salaries for teachers were boosted, and millions were voted for new schools.

No important anti-union bills were approved. The efforts of the California Teachers Association to obtain revenues for school aid through increased consumer taxes on cigarettes and beer were defeated. A resolu-

tion in support of the "millionaires' amendment" to the U.S. Constitution was spiked.

Whether the working people will fare as well in future sessions of the Legislature is questionable. A most serious problem is the "right to work" campaign. If labor's enemies, through propaganda and the use of money, were to push "right to work" through in California, the labor movement would face rough sledding indeed.

What are the prospects? Since last November union-busting legislation has been enacted in three places. Palm Springs was the first to adopt such a measure. Then Tehama County and San Benito County followed suit. In all three instances the labor movement went to the courts to invalidate these un-American ordinances.

The Superior Court in all three areas ruled in our favor. The Palm Springs decision has been appealed and is now in the Fourth District Court of California.

Our enemies in other rural areas are planning to have similar union-busting legislation enacted. However, the anti-labor leaders must realize now, in the face of the court decisions, that their only real hope is the enactment of a state "right to work" law. This would be accomplished either by the Legislature or by placing the proposal on the ballot through an initiative petition.

Tying right in with this plan is the campaign for the election of a Governor next year. Goodwin Knight, a Republican, has made his official announcement for reelection. The general viewpoint of labor in California is that he has done a good job. Political experts are certain that Governor Knight will be opposed in the primaries next June by Senator William Knowland.

The working people of California are convinced that labor's foes will make an all-out drive next year to ram a "right to work" law through

the Legislature. The success or failure of this anti-labor onslaught will depend primarily on the vigor of the efforts of labor and other fair-minded groups.

The unions will have to bring home to the rank and file the deadly effects of the flagrantly misnamed legislation advocated by those who seek to push American wage-earners back into the mire. Trade unionists will have to be impressed with the imperative necessity to register and vote in both the primary and general elections next year.

Although we face serious problems, it would appear that the long-term outlook for the organized labor movement in California is excellent. In the years ahead we are going to increase our numbers, and our gains will be more numerous than our setbacks.

Despite the difficulties currently confronting us, California labor's future—looking ahead a decade or more—appears to be very bright.



**Office Workers Need
Union Protection**

WOMEN who work for a living receive higher pay and have greater job security if they belong to the union. So tell unorganized office employes you meet to join the AFL-CIO. It's the path to progress.

Sweatshops Under Blue Skies

By SOL MARKOFF

*Executive Secretary,
National Child Labor Committee*

THE last remaining sweatshops in America are located right out under the open skies in the fertile fields of the big industrialized farms of the nation where a million migratory farm laborers plant and pick the foods and fibers which feed and clothe our people and a large part of the world as well.

Migrant farm workers earn less money a year and live in more wretched houses, are transported under more perilous conditions, have less education, less medical care and less legal protection than any other group of American wage-earners. The conditions under which they travel, live and work constitute a national sin on a vast scale.

The year-round average earnings of migrant farm workers are less than \$20 a week. Migrants, along with other farm workers, are generally excluded from the beneficial provisions of state and federal minimum wage laws as well as other labor and social legislation.

Although labor unions have made valiant efforts to organize migrants, they remain virtually unorganized and consequently are easy prey for exploitation. Frequently, unscrupulous labor contractors will lure them into a community by false promises of high wages, and when they arrive they find there is no work for days or even weeks.

The right of migrant farm workers to join a union is not guaranteed by state or federal law. They are not ordinarily eligible for unemployment insurance or workmen's compensation, and only a few of them enjoy coverage under the Social Security Act. When in need, most of them find themselves ineligible for public assistance and welfare programs because they do not possess the necessary residence requirements. Their mobility serves to prevent the exercise of their right to vote.

While child labor has all but dis-

appeared from American industry, it is commonplace among migrants. The federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which affords partial protection to farm children during school hours only, is still widely violated. Last year, during inspections of only a fraction of the farms in the nation, federal investigators found about 4,200 children under sixteen years of age employed when they should have been in school.

STATE laws are generally poor and with a few noteworthy exceptions are usually ignored. In forty states agriculture is completely exempted from child labor regulations outside of school hours. In eighteen of the states there is no regulation whatsoever, even during school hours, and children of any age—no matter how young—may legally work any num-

ber of hours a day—no matter how long.

Migrant children work in agriculture for primarily the same reason children used to work in factories, coal mines and cotton mills—parental poverty. Where the head of the family is unable to eke out an existence, the earnings of children are needed to supplement the substandard earnings of adults.

The ravages of migrant life take a heavy toll on the children. The infant mortality rate has been found to be twice as high among migrants, compared to resident children; in one community it was found to be seven times higher.

In a recent report the U.S. Children's Bureau found that hundreds of thousands of migrant children seldom get to see a teacher, a doctor, a nurse, a welfare worker. And the



Migratory farm workers earn little and are easy prey for exploitation. Their children are rarely in school and they seldom get to see a doctor.

U.S. O
clared
have t
tainme
nation.
The
ed:
"Th
other
days,
drop o
constit
source
year at
childre
privile
uation
This
lect, in
Preside
"creati
person
tent as
will be
lives i
comm
spend
provide
diment
Two
univers
opera
school
financi
Child
year-ol
taught
school,

Get
start
two h
them.
put th
you p
put th
beans
the m

This
old bo
nation
Such s
lowed
is still
ized ag
While
labor
gratory
is not
another
gratory
Between
are ma

OCTO

U.S. Office of Education has declared that "migrant children have the lowest educational attainment of any group in the nation."

The Office of Education added:

"They enter school later than other children, attend fewer days, make the least progress, drop out of school sooner and constitute the largest single source of illiterates. * * * Every year at least 600,000 [migrant] children are being denied the privileges of a public school education."

This appalling education neglect, in the words of a special Presidential commission, is "creating a new generation of persons, inherently as competent as other Americans, who will be compelled to spend their lives in poverty because the communities in which they spend their childhood do not provide them with even the rudiments of an education."

Two years ago one of the state universities on the Eastern seaboard operated an experimental summer school for migrant children with a financial grant from the National Child Labor Committee. One eight-year-old boy, Isaac B., who was being taught to read and write in this school, wrote the following essay:

Picking Beans

Get down on your knees. Then start picking beans. When you get two hampers full then you weigh them. After you weigh them you put them on the truck. But before you put the beans on the truck you put them in a sack. You must pick beans all day. You go home when the man tells you.

This was the day of an eight-year-old boy who was already part of the nation's agricultural labor force. Such shocking conditions were outlawed in industry years ago; the job is still unfinished where industrialized agriculture is concerned.

While the benefits of social and labor laws are generally denied migratory workers, the government is not indifferent to the needs of another kind of migrant—not migratory workers but migratory birds. Between six and seven million dollars are made available annually to pur-



He ought to be in kindergarten, not picking cotton all day long.

chase and maintain suitable shelters for the feathered migrants, to conduct census counts of the number and kind of migrant birds, and to pay sizable sums for enforcement activities designed to see that the winged migrant is not illegally molested.

This concern for the protection of our wildlife is admirable indeed. It would also be admirable if equal concern were shown for child life.

There are close to 900 counties where 100 or more agricultural migrants reside during the peak of the season. The counties are widely scattered across the country. About 160 are in ten Eastern seacoast states. Four hundred of these counties are in the central states, 140 in Texas and 180 in eleven Western states. Hundreds of these counties have from 500 to 3,000 migrants during the peak season of picking, and a substantial number of them have even more than 3,000 itinerant farm workers.

Migrancy, even if many of its bad features were controlled, would serve to prevent a normal home life for parents and children. Because of that reason it would be desirable to develop public policies which would reduce migrancy to the minimum necessary for our national needs. This can be done through an expansion of employment opportunities at

fair wages in the migrants' home areas, or in the areas to which they migrate, and through more effective utilization of the manpower available to a community.

But, as every union man knows, the availability of workers is directly related to wages and conditions of employment. Naturally, farm operators will have a shortage of workers when they are willing to pay only a pittance to their workers, but a rise in wages and the improvement of working conditions could attract more local people to farm employment and would reduce the need for migrant workers.

For example, investigators have found numerous instances of migrants in Michigan who migrated to that state from Texas because the head of the family could not afford to buy food or clothing or educate his children and pay rent on wages

brought down to rock bottom by an influx of workers coming in—legally or illegally—from Mexico.

In a sense, migrants are stateless. They are voteless and therefore politically powerless. They need minimum wage laws, effectively enforced child labor and school attendance laws, decent houses to live in, the right to join unions, safe means of transportation and the benefits of unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation.

Migrants do not take to the road because of itchy feet or gypsy blood. They migrate because of necessity. They have to. Their home communities do not afford them opportunities for year-round employment at fair wages. They are productive workers vitally necessary to the nation's economy. It is indefensible to set them aside as second-class citizens.

Father Edward W. O'Rourke, writing in a recent issue of *Work*, had this to say:

"Migratory agricultural workers are unquestionably the most disenfranchised minority in the United States. Exploitation of these defenseless workers is the blackest blot on our national character."

Migrants sorely need the strength and help of their organized industrial brothers.

They look to them for that help.

Labor's Stake in An Emerging New Africa

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH
President, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters

WITH vast areas of Asia virtually lost to the free world as a result of either Communist domination or the neutralist doctrine, Africa now looms upon the world's horizon in strategic focus and challenge.

Without a free Africa there cannot long exist a free world, and without a strong free trade union movement in Africa that spacious continent will not soon become fully free.

Thus, in the answer to the question, "Which way Africa?" may be the answer to the question, "Which way the free world?"

Not even the armament race in hydrogen bombs and guided missiles is comparable in world-shaking portent and significance to the mighty march of the men of Africa toward a better tomorrow. Certainly Africa, where 80 per cent of the land and 90 per cent of the people are still under colonial rule, is the major danger signal to world democracy.

Emphasis upon this important fact has been made in recent months by some of the notable world leaders in the religious, political and labor areas of life.

At the top of the world leaders who have made timely, vital and significant statements on the question of Africa in its relation to man's quest for freedom, equality, social and racial justice and the sacredness of the dignity of the human personality, Pope Pius XII, realizing the tremendous importance of the emerging of the new Africa, out of the depths of his religious insight, wisdom and vision, issued an encyclical letter devoted almost exclusively to Africa.

In view of the urgent problems in other mission areas of the Catholic



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

church, concentration on one continent may seem to neglect others. However, in "*Fidei Donum*" (Gift of Faith), issued last April, Pope Pius makes clear that his stress on the missionary needs of Africa in no wise intends to overlook the pressing needs of the rest of the missionary world.

In fact, the Holy Father is careful to point out that he is fully aware of those needs but that what he has to say of Africa springs from a realization that she is now passing through what may prove to be the most serious years of her millenary history.

That vast continent, prize of the most bitter struggle for world domination ever to involve the human race, today commands universal attention. The struggle is not one simply of political or military significance between the free world and communism.

It is not only a fight between an outmoded colonialism and the surging spirit of peoples hungering for independence. It is not merely a contest for material resources of unexplored and unparalleled riches.

Africa represents the battlefield for the souls of 85,000,000 people still in the grip of paganism, out of her total population of 200,000,000, and for the souls of generations who will one day inhabit that great continent.

The encyclical sets forth a quick enumeration of assets and liabilities of the church as she faces up to the apostolate in Africa. Not only a woeful lack of manpower, but the devastating hold of atheistic materialism, race prejudice, the easy morality and false blandishments attracting so many minds by false religions, social tensions of incredible extent derived from centuries of oppression and slavery—these are some of the

obstacles to be confronted and met with the high courage of the great missionary heroes of the past.

With truly apostolic insight, Pope Pius XII seeks in the very mission of the church herself the answer to Africa's need.

"No longer a limited and local matter, the problems of Africa cannot be solved little by little and in leisurely fashion nor independently of the general life of the Christian world," he points out.

Fraternal help is called for, help that is founded on convictions of our Christian unity and calling for wholehearted assistance from every rank of the church's membership.

In a remarkable passage, Pope Pius urges bishops to be prepared to release some of their priests to African dioceses. And his concluding invita-

tion to lay apostles to put their specialized skills and technical knowledge at the service of the missions is indicative of the urgent summons that all contribute according to their abilities.

Last March, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon visited Ghana and other areas of Africa. Upon his return to the United States, sounding a note of high statesmanship, he pointed out in a report to President Eisenhower:

"The leaders and peoples of the countries I visited in Africa have many things in common. They cherish their independence, which most of them have only recently acquired, and are determined to protect it against any form of foreign domination. They want economic progress for their underdeveloped economies.

"The great question which is presented to the leaders is whether they can attain these justifiable objectives and at the same time maintain and develop governmental institutions which are based on principles of freedom and democracy. I believe they all are convinced that they can, and that the free world has a vital interest in assisting them to do so.

"Herein lies the wider significance of the emergence of the new nation of

Ghana. The eyes of the peoples of Africa south of the Sahara, and of Western Europe particularly, will be upon this new state to see whether the orderly transition which has taken place from dependent to independent status, and whether the retention of close ties on a basis of equality with the British Commonwealth, will continue to work successfully and thereby present a formula of possible application in other cases.

"The United States must come to know these leaders better, to understand their hopes and aspirations and to support them in their plans and programs for strengthening their own nations and contributing to world peace and stability. To this end, we must encourage the greatest possible interchange of persons and ideas with the leaders and peoples of these countries.

"We must assure the strongest possible diplomatic and consular representation to those countries and stand ready to consult these countries on all matters affecting their interests and ours.

"Consistent with the desires of African leaders, the United States government through its agencies should, as appropriate, draw the attention of

private American capital to opportunities for investment in those areas where the conditions for such investment are propitious.

"We should support applications before the appropriate international agencies for financing sound economic projects.

"To the extent that our resources and the demands of other areas permit, we should extend economic and technical assistance to the countries of Africa in helping them to further their economic development.

"Africa is a priority target for the international Communist movement. I gathered the distinct impression that the Communist leaders consider Africa today to be as important in their designs for world conquest as they considered China to be twenty-five years ago. Consequently, they are mounting a diplomatic propaganda and economic offensive in all parts of Africa. They are trying desperately to convince the peoples of Africa that they support more strongly than we do their natural aspirations for independence, equality and economic progress.

"Fortunately, their efforts thus far have not been generally successful and, for (Continued on Page 30)

When AFL-CIO Vice-President Randolph visited Kenya earlier in the year, he was photographed with members of the Kenya Federation of Labor's General Council. At Mr. Randolph's left is the president of the Kenya labor body.



A VICTORY FOR THE CONSUMER

By **EARL W. JIMERSON** and **PATRICK E. GORMAN**

*President and Secretary-Treasurer, Respectively,
Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen*

A LEGISLATIVE campaign spearheaded by organized labor has succeeded in bringing a new and important protection to consumers. Shortly before Congress adjourned, it took final action on a compulsory poultry inspection bill. President Eisenhower signed the measure into law.

Under the new legislation, inspection is provided to assure the consumer of the cleanliness and wholesomeness of all poultry shipped in interstate commerce and into designated major consuming areas. The law is similar to the Meat Inspection Act, which has given consumers protection on red meats for more than fifty years.

The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen began urging such legislation eleven years ago. With more than 30,000 members in the poultry processing industry, our union knew of the large quantities of filthy and diseased poultry which unscrupulous processors were selling unhindered to an unknowing public.

This trade in adulterated and unwholesome poultry not only made poultry and poultry products responsible for the highest rate of food poisoning cases, but also proved to be a great danger to poultry workers. It was responsible for bringing to the poultry processing industry the third highest industrial injury rate.

Public health authorities were also greatly concerned about this consumer and health problem. Some public health experts had been urging a poultry inspection program similar to meat inspection even before our union did. They showed through ex-

periments and scientific studies that some twenty-six diseases are transmissible from poultry to man.

Three years ago an intensive campaign for compulsory poultry inspection legislation began. Important consumer, women's and farm organizations, such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Amer-

juries from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. It traces the epidemics among humans due to diseased poultry. And it showed how an inspection law would at least minimize these dangers.

The testimony of public health experts not only corroborated that of our union but piled even greater evidence on the scales as to the need for this legislation. Authorities from states and cities already having an inspection of poultry testified about their experience. Veterinarians, physicians, sanitarians and scientists gave expert testimony, all pointing to the desirability of strong, effective and consumer-protective legislation.

The poultry industry a great part of which was against this legislation at the beginning of the campaign, dropped its opposition after Congressional committees pointed to the great need for compulsory poultry inspection. Most of the industry then backed bills which public health authorities, consumer groups and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen considered weak and ineffective.

This year the two Agriculture Committees of Congress worked out compromises which all groups concerned with this legislation supported. This legislation was passed by Congress, although not without opposition.

Many Senators and Congressmen were responsible for the success of the compulsory poultry inspection legislation. But the leaders in battling for an effective, consumer-protective law were Senators Humphrey of Minnesota, Murray of Montana and



EARL W. JIMERSON



PATRICK E. GORMAN

ican Association of University Women and the National Farmers Union, immediately recognized the need for the legislation and joined the campaign for it.

No fewer than five hearings before three different Congressional committees were held on the legislation. These showed beyond a shadow of a doubt that this legislation not only was greatly needed but also was long overdue.

Our union presented affidavits to Congress from poultry workers giving proof of the scandalous practices maintained by a small but dangerous minority of the poultry processing industry. It provided statistics on food poisoning cases from the U.S. Public Health Service and on industrial in-

Douglas of Illinois, and Representatives Lenor K. Sullivan of Missouri, John Watts of Kentucky, Victor Anuso of New York and Melvin Price of Illinois. These legislators deserve the gratitude of consumers and poultry workers.

The new compulsory poultry inspection act provides for an inspection for wholesomeness and cleanliness before and after slaughter. The inspection will be carried out by the Department of Agriculture at all times when processing operations are being carried out in plants shipping into interstate commerce or into designated major consuming areas.

The inspection will begin next January for those plants volunteering for it and will become compulsory on January 1, 1959.

The cost of the inspection will be paid for by the government except

for overtime worked by inspectors.

Poultry that is clean and wholesome will be labeled by inspectors and marketed. Poultry deemed unfit for human consumption will be destroyed or used for permissible non-food purposes. If a plant does not meet required standards of sanitation, its poultry will not be inspected and therefore may not be sold in interstate commerce or in designated major consuming areas.

Even though poultry inspection has now become federal law, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen will certainly continue its interest in this legislation. We will cooperate with the Department of Agriculture in its writing of the regulations which will amplify the inspection law.

We will also work for sufficient appropriations, so that the Department

can carry out its inspection function.

And most important, our union will work for the enactment of state poultry inspection laws. These are to assure the consumer of similar protection with poultry shipped in intrastate commerce as the federal law will provide for poultry shipped in interstate commerce and into designated major consuming areas.

The campaign for compulsory poultry inspection legislation has been a tough fight. It has resulted in a very important step forward in the protection of the consumer and public health.

We believe that organized labor can be very proud that it played such a major role in the enactment of this legislation. It shows that labor does not just talk about protecting the consumer but takes meaningful and important actions toward that goal.

Guilty As Charged

THE UNITED NATIONS General Assembly has overwhelmingly adopted a new condemnation of Communist Russia for its brutal aggressions against the Hungarian people. Sixty nations voted in favor of the stern resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its military suppression of the Hungarian revolt against tyranny last autumn. To no one's surprise, the Soviet bloc voted against the resolution. Ten other countries abstained and one was absent.

The resolution placed the General Assembly squarely behind the U.N.'s five-member committee of inquiry which had indicted the Soviet dictatorship and the Hungarian regime of Janos Kadar for mass deportations and indiscriminate slaughter in suppressing the Hungarian people's uprising for liberty and justice.

The Kremlin masters and the Kadar puppet government were called on to stop their brutal repressions, and the Assembly president, Prince Wan Waithayakon of Thailand, was named as special representative to pursue U.N. efforts to help the Hungarian people.

The formal condemnation of Communist Russia came after the Soviet and satellite delegates had heard representatives of dozens of nations assail the Kremlin's murderous deeds and plead for the liberation of the Hungarian people from further Soviet tyranny. The Communists denied everything and made it clear that, regardless of resolutions and speeches, not a single Red Army soldier would be removed from occupied Hungary.

The Hungarian issue is also on the agenda of the twelfth session of the General Assembly, which was scheduled to get under way September 17 with AFL-CIO President George Meany in attendance as a member of the United States delegation. The issue of allowing the present spokesmen for Hungary to be seated as delegates was expected to be raised at the opening of the session.

The U.N.'s special committee of inquiry had found that what took place in Hungary last autumn was "a spontaneous national uprising, due to long-standing grievances which had caused resentment among the people."

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►Eight directly affiliated locals of the Sugar Workers have won hourly wage increases running as high as 27 cents over a two-year period in an agreement with the American Crystal Sugar Company, Denver. The eight directly affiliated groups are Local 21260, Missoula, Mont.; Local 21421, Rocky Ford, Colo.; Local 21434, Grand Island, Neb.; Local 21468, Mason City, Iowa; Local 21462, Chaska, Minn.; Local 24409, Moorhead, Minn.; Local 24937, Crookston, Minn., and Local 21446, East Grand Forks, Minn.

►Local 66 of the Cement Workers, Fort Dodge, Iowa, has negotiated an agreement with the National Gypsum Company providing vacations, a 10-cent hourly wage increase and \$1000 in life insurance for retirees.

►A 31-cent hourly package and a union shop have been gained by Local 12-671 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., in its first contract with Eberhard Faber.

►A one-year contract renewal has given members of the National Association of Broadcast Employees and Technicians a wage increase at Station CKVC, Quebec, Canada.



Delegates were happy when new Maryland-District of Columbia merged labor body was formed.



JOSEPH N. CUMMINGS

JOSEPH N. CUMMINGS, a member of the AFL-CIO auditing staff and former regional director of organization for the American Federation of Labor in Michigan, is dead at the age of 64.

Born at Canterbury Station, New Brunswick, Canada, he joined the American labor movement in 1925 when he was initiated into Local 25 of the Iron Workers in Detroit. He served the local as a business agent from 1933 to 1937, when he was named regional director for the former AFL.

Mr. Cummings was transferred to Buffalo in 1953, and in January, 1955, he was appointed one of the original members of the new Auditing Department set up by the AFL. He continued in this capacity after the AFL-CIO merger.

►Local 262 of the Furniture Workers, San Francisco, has won pay increases and three-week vacations after ten years of service at the Kay Manufacturing Corporation. The gains were achieved on the eve of a strike.

►Wives of the members of unions in Painters District Council 9, New York, are now covered by the District Council's dental program. Care is provided at the union's dental center, which is open six days a week, contains the most up-to-date equipment and is staffed by twelve dentists, nurses and technicians.

►The new executive secretary of the Arkansas State Federated Labor Council is V. H. Williams. He was named to succeed Wayne Glenn, resigned. Mr. Williams is president of Local 382 of the Operating Engineers.

►Directly Affiliated Local 20666, Embalmers, Funeral Directors and Assistants, in Portland, Ore., has obtained wage increases, three-week vacations after ten years of service and other improvements.

►Local 7270 Communications Workers, Fairmont, Ind., has donated \$500 to a fund for the construction of an addition to the Fairmont Community Hospital.

►Women members of District 1, Packinghouse Workers, played active roles in raising funds for the District's new \$400,000 headquarters in Chicago. Mayor Richard J. Daley officiated at the ground-breaking ceremonies.

Statement of the Ownership, Management and Circulation Required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, as Amended by the Acts of March 3, 1933, and July 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233), of

AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

published monthly at Washington, D. C., for October, 1957.

1. The names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor and business manager are:

Publisher—American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, AFL-CIO Building, Washington 6, D. C.
Editor—George Meany, AFL-CIO Building, Washington 6, D. C.
Managing Editor—Bernard Tassler, AFL-CIO Building, Washington 6, D. C.
Business Manager—None.

2. The owner is American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington 6, D. C. George Meany, president; William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer.

3. The known bondholders, mortgagees and other security holders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities are: None.

4. Paragraphs 2 and 3 include, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting; also the statements in the two paragraphs show the affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner.

5. The average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above was— (This information is required from daily, weekly, semi-weekly and tri-weekly newspapers only.)

(S) BERNARD TASSLER
Managing Editor,
AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 12th day of September, 1957.

(Seal) ROBERT J. MCKENNA
Notary Public
District of Columbia

My commission expires February 28, 1958.

Interest Rates, Bankers' Style

(Continued from Page 9)

from higher interest rates, but they have to pay higher interest themselves or no one will buy bonds to lend them the necessary money to build schools, buildings, or improve sanitation or recreation facilities.

Small business and farmers suffer from high interest rates, because when money is tight, borrowing not only costs more but the bankers will lend only to prime credit risks. In this period of tight money, small business failures have gone sky-high. Business failures have increased 89 per cent in the past four years. The Small Business Administration has been flooded recently with requests for loans.

The family-sized farm, in contrast to the corporation-sized farm, cannot afford to keep up with higher costs or borrow money to tide over the seasonal swings in farming.

DESPITE the hardship for the public and for other sectors of the economy, the bankers have been reaping a harvest of profits unheard of in recent years. The earnings of New York City banks in the first quarter of 1957 were 15 per cent higher than a year earlier. Bank stocks, usually giving a smaller return than industrial stocks, now yield 4.5 per cent—higher than the rate of return on industrial stocks.

Net income of commercial banks was up 11 per cent in 1956 over the year before. Total dividends paid by all member banks of the Federal Reserve System have increased 47 per cent in the past five years. The Federal Reserve Banks themselves, whose purpose is stabilizing rather than making money, reported a rise in their return of 57 per cent in 1956 over 1955.

With the higher cost of living plaguing all Americans, with higher interest rates pyramiding higher costs, with governments, small businessmen and farmers increasingly burdened by tight money, the most astounding reason is given for raising interest rates. Higher rates are needed, it is claimed, to curb inflation and to put the economy on a sound financial basis.

When challenged by the facts of a

rising cost of living and increased expenditures by big business—the disease tight money is supposed to cure—Administration spokesmen say: “It could have been worse.”

When faced with evidence of hardships for home builders and farmers and small businessmen, former Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey defended the tight money policy by saying:

“You’ve got to have some hardship or the policy isn’t working.”

This refusal to recognize facts and callous disregard for the effects of blundering policies have characterized the Administration’s financial decisions for the last five years. Clear evidence of a mistake in policy has been followed only by a renewed determination of the Administration to repeat the mistake.

For twenty years of the New Deal and Fair Deal, the big businessmen and bankers complained that inflation would ruin the country. Their suggested cures for inflation were specific: Put the “mismanaged” public debt in the hands of permanent investors and change it from short-term to long-term securities. Balance the budget and stop the disastrous federal spending. Let the Federal Reserve Board be “free” to control interest rates and not to interfere in the Treasury Department’s business.

Starting in 1953, the Treasury tried to start the “mismanaged” public debt in the right direction by issuing a long-term government bond at 3½ per cent—a higher rate than the bond market required. What happened? The whole temper of the money market changed and interest rates rose, helping to bring on the 1953-54 recession.

Throughout this Administration, budget cutting has been a most exalted challenge. Finally, during the past two years, the Administration was so successful in balancing the budget that there was a little over \$3 billion surplus. There was even “success” in jeopardizing vital school and foreign aid programs.

The effect on inflation was enormous. Prices continue to rise, as they have for the last eighteen months,

and the cost of living continues to go higher.

The Federal Reserve Board has been “liberated,” too. Faced with inflation worries, the Board has increased discount rates until credit is almost the only economic factor in short supply and the economy is being choked. Furthermore, the Board has not interfered with Treasury business by supporting the government bond market at “artificially” low levels by buying up whatever the Treasury could not sell. Instead, “natural” forces in the market let government debt issues seek their “natural level” of interest rates.

This “natural” level means a “higher” level of interest. When government bonds compete with all other bonds on the market, investors will buy only those bonds which pay high enough rates of interest. Without a guarantee of support by the Federal Reserve Board, interest rates on government bonds had to rise to meet market competition. All other interest rates then rise too, because government bonds became a “floor” for other interest rates and this “floor” has been rising since 1953. Thus higher interest increases the public debt and adds to inflation throughout the economy.

Not only have the remedies failed to accomplish their purpose of halting price rises, but the suggested cures also clash. Investors will not buy long-term government bonds as long as interest rates are rising. Why should they buy a thirty-year bond at 3 per cent when interest might reach 4, 5 or 6 per cent?

Former Treasury Secretary Humphrey admitted to the Senate Finance Committee that he did not “know of any long-term prospective buyers today” for large amounts of bonds. But during the same hearings Humphrey said that if the Treasury cannot get buyers for long-term bonds at 4¼ per cent, the present legal limit, Congress could be asked to raise the limit. Unashamed of his failure to change the debt from short-term to long-term securities, he congratulated himself on his ability to keep the length of the debt issues from growing even shorter. When challenged by the increase in the public debt from these higher interest payments, Mr. Humphrey proudly said the result was better than runaway inflation. The same clash has

occurred between high interest rates and higher prices.

The Administration doctors claim that high interest rates curb business expansion and prevent price rises.

The giant corporations have continued to expand partially because they can pay for expansion out of profits rather than by borrowing money at high interest rates. To get higher profits, then, they raise prices to avoid paying high interest rates. When borrowing is necessary, they pass the increased cost on to the consumer.

The result? Higher prices.

The Administration's answer:

"It could have been even worse."

ONLY time will tell whether the farmers, the small businessmen and the general public who bear the brunt of tight money can be satisfied by the knowledge that, even though the rising-price disease keeps getting worse, it could have been even more serious. For the present, however, the Administration doctors will keep following the same old-fashioned remedies—tight money, higher interest—the orthodox cures for inflation. As new Treasury Secretary Anderson took office a few weeks ago, the New York Times reported that he will "keep trying the orthodox remedies."

The Administration has not been doctoring rising prices without expert assistance.

It has been proud to acknowledge that the best banking brains in the land have been called upon to advise and, in fact, control the financial policies which affect the public.



When he took office, businessman Humphrey assured America that the public debt would be handled by an expert, W. Randolph Burgess, chairman of the executive committee of the National City Bank of New York. In 1953, when Dr. Burgess assumed his task of "remedying" the mistakes of former Administrations, he said farewell to the National City Bank's shareholders with these reassuring words:

"I will still be working for you people. * * * We hope that when we get the job done, life will be a little better for all of us."

A few weeks ago Dr. Burgess explained to the Senate Finance Committee that "you people" meant the "citizens of America." But he did admit that the remark had been made to shareholders of a leading American bank. Nor did he deny that interest rates have continued to rise since he began his task of managing the public debt.

Dr. Burgess assured the Senate Finance Committee that the Treasury consults other experts before issuing securities—experts who proudly announced that their "advice" was generally followed by the Treasury. These experts were bankers from all parts of the country and especially from two important groups—the Governmental Securities Committee of the Investment Bankers Association and the Government Borrowing Committee of the American Bankers Association.

Naturally, these two committees consist of men whose business is buying and selling government securities. These were the doctors who suggested specific remedies for refinancing the debt "in the public interest."

While these committee members undoubtedly "know the market" for the sale of government securities, their interest in the offering is not impartial.

As Senator Kerr so colorfully describes the situation, the government puts itself "in the posture of a department store or a filling station" and goes out on "highways of finance" begging:

"We have got to refinance fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty billion dollars in the next twelve months. What are you going to charge us for it?"

The people they consult are bankers who will benefit from higher interest rates on government securities. Could

they be expected to keep the interest rates low?

It is no wonder that the share of the national economy going to interest has increased so much in the last five years. The interest makers are the interest takers. While labor's share of the national income has risen only 3.7 per cent and the farmer's share has gone down 36.5 per cent, the corporations' share is up 16.4 per cent and the net interest share of the national income has gone up 40 per cent during this Administration. That means that these "remedies" for the "fiscal mess" have given the people whose business is lending and collecting interest a 40 per cent increase in their share.

THERE is another arm of the government, responsible for seeing to it that the flow of credit and the stability of our economy are controlled for the good of the entire public—the Federal Reserve Board. Here decisions are made concerning the availability of credit throughout the nation and concerning the interest rate (discount rate) which the Federal Reserve Banks will charge their member banks.

As money rates rise on Treasury issues and private borrowings, the Federal Reserve Board has continued to raise the discount rate for the banks. One has not necessarily followed the other in exact sequence, but both the rates on Treasury issues and the discount rates have continued their upward trend, as the same old remedy for inflation is applied by the Federal Reserve Board: To refuse to provide more credit by charging higher interest rates.

Inflation has not stopped, but the same remedy continues as Federal Reserve Banks all over America have upped their interest rates in recent months.

The final decision on changing the discount rates rests with a board of seven men—governors of the Federal Reserve. These governors are Presidential appointees, not necessarily bankers, who are supposed to represent various public-interest groups, such as commercial, agricultural and other interests.

But they do not represent the public. They follow the recommendations of bankers. These bankers are the heads of the twelve Federal Re-

serve Banks across the land who recommend the changes in the discount rates for each of their areas.

Each time the change is upward, money gets tighter and credit for expansion of the economy is choked a little more. For whom? For the farmer, the home builder, the small businessman who can't get credit. Not for the big businessmen and the bankers who do not feel the pinch of tight money.

The Board's old-fashioned solution for a new-fashioned inflation (price rises, despite weakening demand and unused industrial capacity) has the same historic possibilities tight money has always had—recession.

Despite their failure to stem the tide of rising prices, the people who set the rates for money plan to continue this remedy. At the present

time the rate of credit expansion is less than 1 per cent a year, but no one plans to loosen the tight money policy.

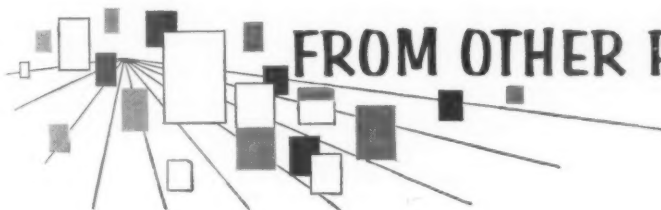
Although recent statements by Administration leaders seem to recognize the difference in the kind of inflation, they plan to keep on using an old-fashioned treatment—higher interest rates. They hope it will not lead to a depression. They hope a recession will just be a "rolling readjustment."

They seem to have forgotten what history has always shown. High interest rates can bring on a crash fairly quickly, but once the crash happens it takes a long, long time to pick up the pieces.

Besides determining the discount rate, the Federal Reserve's Open Market Committee decides how many

government securities the Federal Reserve System will buy or sell—thus determining in part the ultimate success or failure of any Treasury bond issue. Who controls the Open Market Committee? Bankers. The twelve-man committee includes five Federal Reserve Bank presidents in addition to the seven-man Federal Reserve Board. These five bankers, by lining up with only one or two Board members, can thus control the buying and selling of government bond issues by the arm of the government charged with the duty of maintaining monetary stability in the public interest.

As Senator Kerr expressed the problem, "the bankers and they alone are permitted to enter that select sanctuary occupied by those who make these decisions" which affect the prosperity of every citizen.



FROM OTHER PUBLICATIONS

Challenge and Menace

From International
Free Trade Union News

The labor-hating employers, the reactionaries of every stripe, inclusive of the Communists, will seek to take advantage of the present difficulties confronting the democratic American labor movement for their own sinister ends. Only the firmest labor unity can halt anti-labor legislation coming under the pretext of curing the trade union movement of its ailments or even under cover of helping labor in the struggle against the unholy alliance of corrupting employers, corrupted labor officials and corrupt politicians.

Labor unity must be based on clean unionism. The unity of action must be based on loyal adherence to the principles and policies, to the ideals and aspirations, of the AFL-CIO. The labor movement, with all its weaknesses and shortcomings, remains the keystone of American democracy.

To hold the loyalty of its members and to enable them to play their rightful role as workers and citizens in our democracy, in our country, at this moment of actual world crisis, our labor movement will have to invigorate and equip itself anew. We must redouble our efforts to become more active and effective in protecting and promoting not only the human well-being of our individual members but also their human dignity.

Cheap Employer

From Labor's Daily

President Eisenhower's veto of pay raises for underpaid federal classified and postal employees, while expected, is none the less unjustified and unfair.

His excuse that to grant the increases would be inflationary and could lead to the necessity of increasing the country's statutory debt limit very likely satisfies big business and those who howl for government economy, no matter who is hurt.

But all Americans who believe that the federal fiscal policy should not be as ruthless and cold-blooded as that of a giant, monopolistic corporation, but rather based upon human rights and needs, will disagree with the President. And that goes for organized labor, of course.

The hundreds of thousands of federal workers affected by the legislation vetoed by the President have been lagging behind millions of other workers of comparable skill for several years. Uncle Sam is a notoriously cheap employer and, egged on by political and industrial economic diehards, apparently doesn't intend to do anything about it.

It is not to the credit of the recently adjourned session of Congress that the pay legislation was not passed until just before it closed shop. Had action come earlier, the President's veto might have been overridden.

Postal workers particularly will feel the brunt of Eisenhower's action. Their morale, already at an alarming low, is due now to take another tumble.

We hope that the pay fight gets under way on the opening day of the new Congress and that it is pushed to a successful conclusion before the President and his economic advisers can come up with any more cold-blooded reasons for halting an equitable wage adjustment for those so recently victimized.

Frankly, we think the President and his "experts" should be ashamed.

The Government's Business

From The United Automobile Worker

Aircraft plants are big, aircraft orders are big—and when orders are canceled, aircraft unemployment is big. In some cases the "policy decisions" made in the Pentagon can mean economic disaster to a dozen communities.

No one in the UAW argues that this country should make weapons simply to keep workers employed. What we do say is that the government has an even greater responsibility in this field than in others affecting employment.

Basically it was the government that caused these thousands of workers to be brought together from remote parts of the country in order to build aircraft. If a project (like the Navaho missile) is abandoned, Uncle Sam has to put the pieces back together. The UAW has shown how the problem can be met. It's up to the government to meet it.

LABOR ORGANIZATION FINANCIAL REPORT FORM RA-1 (F)

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

JULY 1, 1956, TO JUNE 30, 1957

MAIN AND COMPANY
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS
WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

September 5, 1957

ACCOUNTANTS' CERTIFICATE

American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Washington, D.C.

We have examined the financial records of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the six-month periods ending December 31, 1956 and June 30, 1957. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

We have also examined the accompanying Labor Organization Financial Report (Form RA-1(F)) of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1957. In our opinion, the information contained therein is presented fairly in the form and detail specified by the United States Department of Labor.

(Signed) **Main and Company**
CERTIFIED PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS STATEMENT OF ALL INCOME AND EXPENSE (GENERAL FUND AND DEFENSE FUND) FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 1956, AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1957

Line					
1.	Net Worth at the Beginning of the Fiscal Year	5,420,030.41	Salaries	No. of Persons	
	Add:		18. Officers	2	68,000.00
	Income		19. Staff	618	3,804,526.38
2.	Dues (or per capita tax from affiliates)	10,143,961.37	Allowances		
3.	Fees excluding work permits	-0-	20. Travel and related expenses		1,507,467.26
4.	Work permits	-0-	21. Other		-0-
5.	Fines	-0-	22. Advances or loans (see Schedule C)		-0-
6.	Assessments	-0-	23. Taxes		141,710.89
7.	Income from investments (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	26,280.43	24. Fees for legal services		86,401.72
8.	Income from sale of assets (see Schedule A)	-0-	25. Fees for other professional services		49,114.50
9.	Income from sale of supplies (labels, buttons, etc.) ...	57,900.19	26. Office and administrative expenses		634,029.67
	Other receipts		27. Benefit payments to or for members or dependents		-0-
10.	From members	-0-	28. Contributions, gifts, grants, etc. (see Schedule F) ...		84,175.00
11.	From affiliated organizations	-0-	29. Publications, publicity, and educational expenses		1,435,670.43
12.	From repayment of advances or loans (see Schedule B)	-0-	30. Purchase of assets (see Schedule H)		-0-
13.	From other sources (see Schedule D)	278,738.34	31. Other disbursements (see Schedule G)		1,380,971.81
14.	Total Income (Sum of Lines 2 through 13)	10,506,880.33	32. Total Expense (Sum of Lines 16 through 31)		9,596,297.58
15.	Total (Sum of Lines 1 and 14)	15,926,910.74	33. Net Worth at the End of the Fiscal Year (Line 15 less Line 32)		6,330,613.16
	Deduct:				
	Expense				
16.	Per capita tax and assessments	340,501.94			
17.	Other payments to affiliated organizations	63,727.98			

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND LIABILITIES (GENERAL FUND AND DEFENSE FUND)**

ASSETS	Beginning of fiscal year July 1, 1956		End of fiscal year June 30, 1957	
	Amount	Total	Amount	Total
Cash:				
1. Petty cash	2,050.00		1,975.00	
2. Revolving funds	82,315.12		76,248.79	
3. Checking accounts	783,460.55		424,832.35	
4. Savings accounts	65,000.00		155,000.00	
5. Cash on Hand	-0-	932,825.67	-0-	658,056.14
Securities				
6. Government bonds	847,490.78		847,490.78	
7. Nongovernment bonds	5,000.00		5,000.00	
8. Corporate stock	15,000.00	867,490.78	15,000.00	867,490.78
Fixed Assets (Net of Reserves)				
9. Land and buildings (see Schedule H)		4,881,537.03		4,981,138.77
10. Furniture and fixtures		448,967.11		479,387.23
11. Notes and Accounts Receivable (see Schedule J)		398,821.43		32,992.35
12. Other Assets (see Schedule K)		738,314.51		754,634.52
13. Total Assets		8,267,956.53		7,773,699.79
LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH				
14. Accounts payable		439,291.76		302,433.22
15. Notes payable		2,222,223.09		985,342.07
16. Mortgages payable		-0-		-0-
17. Other Liabilities (see Schedule L)		186,411.27		155,311.34
18. Total Liabilities		2,847,926.12		1,443,086.63
19. Net Worth (excess of assets over liabilities) (Line 13 less Line 18)		5,420,030.41		6,330,613.16
20. Total Liabilities and Net Worth		8,267,956.53		7,773,699.79

**AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS
FINANCIAL REPORT SCHEDULES
FISCAL YEAR BEGINNING JULY 1, 1956 AND ENDING JUNE 30, 1957**

Schedule A—Income from Sale of Assets

Kind of Property	Year acquired	Gross sales price (contract price)	Cost or other basis	Net value on the books	Expense of sale
Furniture and fixtures	Various	1,097.00	(Proceeds from sale of minor items of furniture and fixtures are credited directly to the asset account without cost determination or adjustment.)		None

Schedule B—Repayment of Advances or Loans

Name	Amount
None	None

Schedule D—Income from Other Sources

Item	Amount
AFL-CIO News	153,476.56
Rental income	90,172.85
All other	35,088.93
Total	278,738.34

Schedule E—Other Allowances

Person	Amount
None	None

Schedule C—Disbursement of Advances or Loans

Name	Amount
None	None

Schedule F—Contributions, Gifts, Grants, etc., to officers or staff not reported as salaries or allowances.

Recipient	Amount
None	None

[CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE]

Schedule G—Other Expense

Item	Amount
Employer's contribution to employees' pension plans	562,135.97
Employer's contribution to employees' life insurance and medical plans	205,756.26
Interest	49,982.53
Convention and conference expenses	139,597.55
Headquarters building (other than taxes and salaries, but including depreciation of \$83,034.97)	155,667.66
Depreciation of furniture, fixtures, and equipment	59,934.79
Disbursements to Local Unions to sustain authorized strikes or lockouts (from Defense Fund)	141,279.00
Organizational supplies	33,058.75
All other	33,559.30
Total	1,380,971.81

Schedule H—Land and Buildings at June 30, 1957

1. Kind and location of property	2. Year acquired	3. Cost or other basis of valuation	4. Total depreciation charged, if any, on buildings since acquisition	5. Net value as shown on the books
Headquarters, 815 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.				
Land	1947	863,652.08		863,652.08
Building	1956	4,200,521.66	83,034.97	4,117,486.69

Schedule J—Notes Receivable at June 30, 1957

Name of Officer None	Amount None	Name of Staff Member None	Amount None
-------------------------	----------------	---------------------------------	----------------

Schedule K—Other Assets at June 30, 1957

Item	Amount
Per capita taxes receivable	660,415.00
Interest receivable—investments	5,973.33
Employees' travel advances	17,058.14
Prepaid items	71,188.05
Total	754,634.52

Schedule L—Other Liabilities at June 30, 1957

Item	Amount
Unremitted income and social security taxes	68,404.08
Salaries and travel expenses	56,950.61
Funds held in escrow	29,956.65
Total	155,311.34

Schedule M—Assets Pledged or Used as Collateral or Security

Description of Assets None	Value None	By Whom Pledged or Used None
-------------------------------	---------------	---------------------------------

Labor's Stake in Africa

(Continued from Page 21)

the present, Communist domination in the states of the area is not a present danger. All of the African leaders to whom I talked are determined to maintain their independence against communism or any other form of foreign domination.

"They have taken steps to bring under control the problem of Communist subversion of their political, economic and social life.

"It would be a great mistake, however, to be complacent about this situation because the Communists are without question putting their top men in the fields of diplomacy, intrigue and subversion into the African area to probe for openings which they can exploit for their own selfish and disruptive ends.

"In every instance where my schedule permitted, I made it a point to talk to the leading labor leaders of the countries I visited. I was encouraged to find that the free trade union movement is making great advances

in Africa, particularly in Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia. The leaders of these countries have recognized the importance of providing an alternative to Communist-dominated unions and they thereby are keeping the Communists from getting a foothold in one of their favorite areas of exploitation.

"In this connection, I wish to pay tribute to the effective support that is being given by trade unions in the United States to the free trade union movement in the countries which I visited. These close and mutually advantageous relationships are in the national interest as well as in the interest of developing a strong labor movement.

"It is vitally important that the U.S. government follow closely trade union developments in the continent of Africa and that our diplomatic and consular representatives should come to know on an intimate basis the trade union leaders in these countries.

"I believe that American labor unions should continue to maintain close fraternal relationships with the African trade unions in order that they both may derive the advantages of the wisdom and experience of the other."

Mr. Nixon, in his report, also said: "On the information side I believe that the most worthwhile projects are the libraries and reading rooms which we have established in a number of centers overseas and the exchange of persons programs. The funds available for these programs in the African area should be substantially increased over the present level.

"To the extent that the Africans become familiar with the culture and technology, the ideals and aspirations and the traditions and institutions which combine to make up the American character, we shall have made great advances in common understanding.

"This can be done through books and periodicals, through student exchanges and through the leader grant program for bringing outstanding Africans to the United States for

study and travel. We should also assist as we can in the development of indigenous educational facilities in Africa.

"In this way we can get to know them and they to know us."

One of the great voices which have spoken out in the interest of progress in Africa is the Protestant Church through its varied denominational branches. It has long been the tradition of this church movement to provide resources for the cause of missions among the African peoples. The National Council of Churches has been an outstanding agency in giving expression to the cause of Christianity in Africa.

IN THE authentic voice of sound trade union realism with the big heart of a humanitarian and an understanding of the role of free trade unionism in the crucial conflict between the forces of totalitarian communism and democracy, William F. Schnitzler, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO, upon his return from the first African regional conference in Ghana under the sponsorship of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, where he had headed an AFL-CIO delegation, said:

"Throughout colonial Africa the trade unions have been in the forefront of the anti-colonial movements. That means, in practical terms, that they have been heavily political and in many respects bear little resemblance to American labor organizations. On the other hand, as they achieve national independence, the workers and their leaders quickly develop new horizons for the trade unions. Bread-and-butter issues rise to the fore and a new emphasis on trade union economic matters tends to develop in their thinking.

"In our talks with national trade union leaders in Casablanca and on our visit to other countries gaining self-government, we were bombarded with questions about the 'housekeeping' of the American labor movement. How do Americans administer their trade unions? What is the structure of the U.S. labor movement? What are the channels of communication between rank and file and leadership? This was the course that our conversations with these fine labor people inevitably took.

"But in some other areas of Africa the unions have not yet reached that

stage. Independence and self-government—the whole spirit of anti-colonialism—are sweeping Africa. It is important for us in the Western world to recognize the justice of these peoples' sincere and dedicated drive toward the management of their own affairs.

"In the last two or three years the Kremlin has been making Africa a major goal, and reports indicate a step-up in Russian propaganda efforts and economic interest. So far, we were assured by our trade union friends in Africa, these efforts have made little headway, but it will require sympathetic understanding by the democratic peoples and an ability to build stronger domestic economies in order to provide a society healthy enough fully to withstand possible infection from the Soviet virus.

"The Kremlin short-wave radios pour in propaganda by the hour, but we were told that it is ineffective and, if anything, repellent. On the other hand, we found with regret that the Voice of America is, in a different way, also ineffective. There are relatively few programs beamed to the African listeners, and local citizens indicated firmly, but politely, that the broadcasts could use considerable improvement.

"But with determination and hard work, with a sense of brotherhood and a feeling for social justice, there is no question that democratic unionism can become a truly significant and constructive factor in the life of a continent whose future role in world affairs will be of compelling importance.

"The development of free trade unions must primarily be by the Africans themselves. The African peoples must be trained to develop their own leaders and organizations. We believe most strenuously that a strong free trade union movement is a most effective instrument in the struggle for independent democratic rights and human well-being."

Though not yet of the age of a decade, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, partially the result of the vision, initiative and spirit of the American labor movement, along with the British Trade Union Congress and other national

European trade union centers, has made creditable and constructive progress, with limited means, in stimulating and giving assistance to the building of free trade union organizations in Africa.

In West Africa the ICFTU maintains a representative and has the affiliations of trade union organizations in Ghana, Sierre Leone, British Cameroons, Gambia and Nigeria. An educational center has been established at Accra in Ghana where a number of training schools have been held. A reading library and an information center have also been established. A monthly paper, *West African Worker*, is published.

Brother Hammarton is the ICFTU representative in this area. In East Africa, Brother James Burry, a Canadian packinghouse worker, was representative of the ICFTU in Kenya. Affiliations of trade union organizations in this area are found in Madagascar, Tanganyika, Uganda, the Rhodesias and Nyassaland.

THE ICFTU holds great promise in the building of free trade unions in Africa and Asia and other parts of the world. But just as the United Nations, of which the United States is a part, is strengthened by the action of the U.S. in various areas of the world where social, economic and political conditions render the activity of this country available and useful in the interest of the democratic spirit and world peace, so the AFL-CIO, one of the driving forces in the formation of the ICFTU and now one of its outstanding affiliates, can strengthen the forces of the international free trade union movement in the warfare against the Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions in areas where the conditions of history render its voice and work available and constructive.

In very truth, because of the psychological acceptability of AFL-CIO trade union forces, especially in various areas of colonial Africa, the international role of the AFL-CIO in cooperation with the ICFTU is indispensable in this period when nationalist revolutions are sweeping that continent.



WHAT THEY SAY

L. M. Raftery, president, Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers—We



have kept the ancient system of apprenticeship, but the trade or craft apprentice has a heavy liberal education added to his manual instruction. This

makes for a higher level of living. In the modern community, everyone must work. Fortunate indeed is the man who has found his calling and has been accepted by his associates as have the young men who have successfully completed apprenticeships.

Young men and women who graduate from vocational schools and serve apprenticeships have a great advantage over their brethren who cannot cope with life's problems on such a strong foundation. Vocational school apprentices have been given the opportunity to learn in the dual manner that offers mental and physical stimulus. Young men who study in or graduate from vocational schools no longer feel the stigma that was formerly put on those who studied the mechanical arts.

Albert Whitehouse, director, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO—As organized labor once



faced up to and overcame the problem of Communist infiltration, it is now facing up to the problems of corruption in its

ranks. It is proving to the world that it intends to clean its own house and that those who want to live in labor's house must conform to rules consistent with the best interests of America and of her free labor unions.

Labor has adopted a code of ethics embodying these rules. It has informed the world that those who fail to observe the rules will not be tolerated. More important, action has already been taken to root out those

who are guilty of corrupt practices.

American labor is cracking down on the disreputable minority now giving our movement a bad name. These men, without doubt, have hurt us more than many care to admit. But these are not mortal wounds.

We can and we are cleaning our own house, and we must make clear once and for all that organized labor is off limits for all whose major aim is self-enrichment.

The American labor movement is not a business and cannot be guided by the ethics of the marketplace. This movement is a trust similar to the public service, and those who lead it must serve it accordingly.

M. S. Novik, radio consultant—Radio today—with some notable exceptions—is a



business of broadcasting recorded music and news. The live programs, the talk, forum, discussion, comment and controversy programs that

made radio the dominant medium of communication in the country—all of these programs are just about gone today. Radio today is making more money and has more listeners and more commercials—and it also has less public service programming, less community action programs and less standing in the community.

There is no substitute for argument, debate, discussion and controversy when it comes to facing a community issue. This is an American heritage that goes back to the earliest days of our democracy.

Unless radio faces these responsibilities, it will lose its identity as a dynamic force in the community. And when that happens, radio will be nothing more than a series of chain stores, identical in operation and differing only in the name out front and in the size of the building.

This is directly contrary to what the people want and likewise contrary to what Congress legislated in the Federal Communications Act.

We, as a country, cannot afford the dubious luxury of emasculated radio stations. The time has come for all good men and women to raise their voices and ask the FCC to take a positive stand on the public interest, necessity and convenience clauses of the Federal Communications Act and return radio to the heights of public service and community action.

James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor—American trade unionism is a



keystone in the foundation of our democratic society. It has been a great force in the advancement of our standard of living. It has been an important and highly effective

instrument for the advancement of social justice. It has helped elevate the wage-earner to a man of property. It has lifted many members of minority groups over the high walls of prejudice that confronted them. It has been a leading force in every struggle for right and charity.

Because the trade union movement has made such splendid progress, because it has played such a large part in the fuller realization of our democratic ideals, corruption and malpractice are indeed abominations that shock and amaze our people.

Labor racketeering brings from some quarters of society a demand for dangerously strong reprisals that would have the effect of impairing every union's ability to organize and bargain. Some people see in the present hearings an excuse to do real damage to organized labor in this country. It would be forever to our shame and detriment if such drastic anti-union bias were allowed to influence our course of action.

In the last analysis, the success of trade unionism lies in only one place—its firm adherence to the goals and ideals that lead to the advancement of individual dignity. The test and trial of these times—when assaults upon unions will be many and heavy, when all union members must face the realization of their obligations, when every labor leader is called upon for the utmost in statesmanship and conviction—may well prove the temper to strengthen and refine American organized labor.